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SDI Testing Said To Violate ABM Treaty

LD2112175188 Moscow TASS in English 1656 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 21 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev:

General James Abrahamson, director of the Strategic Defense Initiative organisation, told the REUTERS that within 18 months the United States intends to test a space-based interceptor capable of destroying inter-continental ballistic missiles. The interceptor will be launched from a near-earth orbit and will hit a missile target launched from the earth.

General Abrahamson asserts that the interceptor is not a prototype of combat weapons, but is only an "experimental model." Therefore, according to him, such tests within SDI framework will not run counter to the provisions of the ABM Treaty in the American interpretation.

This statement does not hold water. U.S. specialists are excellently aware of the fact that Article Five of the ABM Treaty clearly and unambiguously prohibits the development and testing not only of space-based ABM systems, but also of their components. No matter how they in Washington describe the space component of the ABM system developed and tested in the U.S.—a prototype, an experimental model, or even a bowl of flowers, the essence of the matter will not change: Weapons will remain weapons.

Incidentally, the USA had earlier made attempts to cover up the violations of the ABM Treaty with the use of arbitrary terminology. U.S. newspapers wrote back in 1985 that the Pentagon tries to reconcile the tests of anti-missile technology with provisions of the ABM Treaty by describing systems to be tested as "sub-components" and "additional elements." It is for this purpose that a vague term of "demonstration tests" was invented in Washington. Not even its authors could explain it in any way.

A report on the ABM Treaty published recently by the political committee of the Republican Party in the U.S. Congress is characteristic in connection with the past and present manipulations by supervisors of the SDI program. The report poses the question if the ABM Treaty suits the U.S. interest now. The authors of the report recommend three ways of putting an end to the treaty. One of these methods is to implement everything that is planned under the SDI program without withdrawing from the treaty and without really taking it into consideration. It is absolutely obvious that the above-mentioned Pentagon's plans suit this recommendation. The planned experiments will run counter to the ABM Treaty.

SDI proponents apparently lose sight of the fact that the ABM Treaty is the bedrock of the whole complex of the Soviet-American arrangements on nuclear arms limitation and reduction. The refusal from the treaty might bring to nought the positive fruit of the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and prevent the conclusion of the agreement on 50-per cent cuts in strategic offensive arms.

INF Inspection Commission Concludes Session

LD2112163688 Moscow TASS in English 1614 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Geneva December 21 TASS—The Soviet-American special inspection commission completed its third session here today. The commission was set up under the Soviet-American INF Treaty of December 8, 1987.

The session discussed issues pertaining to enhancement of the treaty's viability and efficacy. The Soviet and U.S. representatives on the commission have signed a memorandum on agreements between the Government of the USSR and the Government of the USA concerning the procedural aspects of the activity of the special inspection commission.

The date for next session will be agreed later.

Arms Negotiator on Concluded Geneva Talks

LD2112121488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0520 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, 21 Dec (TASS)—Igor Palenykh, head of the Soviet delegation, called the results of the third round of full-scale Soviet-American talks on limiting and halting nuclear tests which ended in Geneva "positive."

On returning to Moscow from Geneva, he told TASS correspondent Gennadiy Tallayev that during the present round the sides agreed on the text of a new protocol to the 1976 treaty limiting underground nuclear tests for peaceful purposes. This text was presented to the governments of both countries.

A document has been prepared by technical experts of both sides within the framework of the Geneva talks on the results of the successful implementation of the joint experiment to monitor and inspect nuclear tests at the test sites in Nevada and Semipalatinsk. According to their joint view, this document will secure a basis for coordinated measures to monitor and verify compliance with the 1974 treaty on limiting underground nuclear weapons tests. The two sides were also able to begin work on a new protocol to this treaty. As a first step, the text of its draft has mainly been compiled and will serve as a basis for work at the next round of talks.

Igor Palenykh stressed that the work of the delegations in Geneva passed in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere. He said: "I hope the rapid pace which has characterized this year's talks will be maintained in the course of the next round as well."

Karaganov Explains Military Reduction
LD1512203288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1544 GMT 14 Dec 88

[From "The World Today" program; interview with Sergey Aleksandrovich Karaganov, deputy director of the Western Europe Institute, by program presenter Valentin Dvinin in Moscow on 14 December—recorded]

[Text] [Dvinin] I spoke on just the subject of Gorbachev's speech at the UN General Assembly with Sergey Aleksandrovich Karaganov, deputy director of the Western Europe Institute, who not long before the start of the program visited us in the studio:

[Begin recording] [Dvinin] Sergey Aleksandrovich, I know that for a long time you have been engaged in problems of European security and in studying questions of cutting down on weapons. As a specialist, how would you explain why we can allow ourselves such large reductions in troops and conventional weapons and, moreover, unilaterally?

[Karaganov] We can indeed allow ourselves this if only because it is a matter not of reducing our defense capabilities, in the first place, but rather of decreasing our offensive capabilities. In the main, the reductions are made to tanks, artillery, assault-landing pontoon units, and assault and attack units—that is, those which are intended for waging offensive operations. This is being done in accordance with the directive on the organization of the Armed Forces on the basis of reasonable sufficiency, with the directive on increasing the defensive capability of our Armed Forces. Apart from this, in the last few years we have liquidated—and this should not be forgotten—all the advantages that the West held, even back in the 1970's, in the area of nuclear forces and on the strategic level in Europe also.

[Dvinin] That is, we have ensured parity?

[Karaganov] Yes, and this means that the need to compensate for the West's nuclear advantages in the quantitative and qualitative composition of conventional forces has fallen away. The directive of the 19th party conference says: the provision of the organization of defense, the country's defensive capabilities, primarily not through quantitative but rather qualitative parameters. It is in accordance with this that these steps were taken. In this way we are now talking about not only major, timely political steps but also about the displays of our new assiduity, our sobriety, in the appraisal of threats. We are, of course, also talking about a major political step which is intended to neutralize those forces in the West who are trying to justify the arms race in the West with our offensive capabilities.

[Dvinin] On the question of the West's reaction to the package of our initiatives as a whole, in the main the reaction is positive, but all the same it is not unanimous. There is also a restrained reaction and even, so to speak, some confusion with regard to the position that certain circles occupy in connection with our proposals.

[Karaganov] You know, the reaction is indeed extraordinarily positive, and we know them all well, but I will say on the subject of this confusion that there are circles in the West—and their voices were heard more and more with every passing week—which are extremely discouraging. They are counting, with the help of talks at which progress will be extremely difficult, on to all intents and purposes freezing the quantitative and qualitative composition of our Armed Forces; on preventing us from implementing their restructuring; and not resolving for themselves arguments in favor of building up their own armed forces, Western armed forces, and correspondingly, on foisting on us more and more new spending with the aim of our economic exhaustion. These circles, of course, are disappointed.

[Dvinin] As far as economic consequences are concerned, as well as the political benefits of our step, they are, I believe, generally understandable even to those who are not specialists. And naturally, the question may arise in our audience about whether our measures might not have some type of negative social consequence for our military specialists.

[Karaganov] I think that this need not arise, and I think it is necessary to foresee such measures which would not deprive our Army of qualified specialists. We are talking about its professionalization, and qualified military specialists will be necessary. A smaller but more efficient Army will help to resolve the problem that Armed Forces come up against in society—the decline in prestige. Both our citizens in military uniform and our citizens in civilian clothing speak about this with alarm, and it seems to me that a smaller but more efficient and more professional Armed Forces will help to resolve this problem.

[Dvinin] Thank you very much, Sergey Aleksandrovich.

[Karaganov] It is my pleasure. [end recording]

Moiseyev, Others Meet Yazov Home From Sofia

PM2012134988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Dec 88 First Edition p 1

[TASS report under general heading "Defense Ministers Committee Session Ends Work"]

[Text] Sofia, 19 Dec—On the same day [17 Dec] Army General D.T. Yazov arrived in Moscow.

He was met at the airport by N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Colonel General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces and USSR first deputy defense minister; Army General I.M. Tretyak, USSR deputy defense minister; Army General M.I. Sorokin, USSR deputy defense minister; Army General D.S. Sukhorukov, USSR deputy defense minister.

F. Spasov, Bulgarian charge d'affaires ad interim in the Soviet Union, and Rear Admiral I. Nikolov, military, naval, and air force attache to the Bulgarian Embassy in the Soviet Union, were among those present.

Banking Cooperation Within Bloc Outlined

PM2112152788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[Interview with S. Pirogov, acting chief of the Vneshekonombank Administration for Currency and Credit Cooperation with Socialist Countries, by A. Krushinskiy: "Prompt Payment Makes for Strong Friendship"; date, place not given]

[Text] This year the signboard on an imposing six-story building on old Moscow's Ulitsa Plyushchikha was replaced. The USSR Foreign Trade Bank was renamed the Bank for Foreign Economic Activity [Vneshekonombank]. This went unremarked by journalists, although the later reports of the granting of the right to Soviet, Czechoslovak, and Bulgarian associations, enterprises, and organizations maintaining direct ties, to conduct transactions in their own national currencies, were perceived as a sensation.

Are these events connected?

My conversation with S. Pirogov, acting chief of the Vneshekonombank Administration for Currency and Credit Cooperation with Socialist Countries, began with a question about the transfer ruble—would it be possible to make do with it today?

"The transfer ruble is a specific currency," he began. "Such bank notes or, let us say, actual coins do not exist. Nevertheless, it is regularly recorded in bank accounts, quite accurately reflecting interstate transactions among CEMA countries. In this respect the community can be said to have been a pioneer. Later, following our example, the 'Common Market' countries also created their own collective currency—the ECU (which also features only in bank accounts). But they have gone further than us in using it, because our collective currency's 'collectiveness' is relative. The transfer ruble only functions on a bilateral basis: What we have earned from deliveries, let us say, of our oil to Bulgaria we have a right to spend only on Bulgarian goods—we cannot, for example, use that money to buy something from Hungary...."

[Question] So it turns out that our collective currency has several dozen "nonmating" varieties. What is the good of it?

[Answer] At the time when we "invented" the transfer ruble, it satisfied perfectly well the existing requirements of the CEMA states because trade was built precisely on a bilateral basis. Collaboration—particularly multilateral collaboration—was at the embryonic stage. Now things are different. In going over to a new level of cooperation, the fraternal countries must use money in a new way. My personal opinion is that we can take two routes simultaneously out of the present impasse situation. On the one hand we can strengthen the role of the transfer ruble, so that it gradually becomes the reserve currency of CEMA countries with the right of accumulation and free use in trading operations with any of the partners (with the prospect of free convertibility into Western currencies in the future). On the other hand, as direct ties develop, transactions in national currencies on the principles of mutual convertibility will assume ever greater significance.

[Question] Clearly, this will gladden not only economic planners but also the population. Newspapers have repeatedly written about the humiliating position of the Soviet tourist (as well as the specialist on a business trip) owing to the lack of currency. And yet an American or an Englishman—if he has dollars or pounds in his pocket—calmly takes them to any part of the world. Will we ever put an end to the "inferiority" of our Soviet ruble?

[Answer] Our ruble also features in currency markets abroad, only money changers accept it at a different rate to that set in the USSR. One of the reasons for the contradiction is that in the West there is no difference between trade and nontrade payments, as there is here. But the chief point, in my view, is the unreal nature of the set ruble exchange rate.

[Question] So, in order to resolve the problem of the ruble's convertibility, is it sufficient to lower the exchange rate?

[Answer] I believe that we must first strengthen the economy, organize production of competitive goods, and regularize prices. The recent USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On the Further Development of the Foreign Economic Activity of State, Cooperative, and Other Public Enterprises, Associations, and Organizations"

states that it is proposed to switch to the use of a new currency rate of exchange in transactions relating to foreign economic operations as of 1 January 1991.

[Question] Why is it that many of the associations and enterprises which long ago established direct ties are in no hurry to open currency accounts with you?

[Answer] "The freeloading approach which has eaten into the mentality of our economic planners tells here," S. Pirogov replied. "Many are accustomed to getting imports out of the state budget and are not bothered about the need to earn currency themselves. This is a hangover from the cost-based mechanism. But there is also another reason for passiveness. Many are not in a position to take advantage of their truly great rights. For the 100-percent state order reduces everything to nothing and virtually deprives the economic planner of any reserves or potential for maneuvering. But progress is, nonetheless, being made. You will see this for yourself if you visit our department for new forms of cooperation." [answer ends]

...At first this spacious room conjured up for me an association with a student auditorium: crowded, rows of desks, nothing but young faces. Everyone was engaged in something—either concentrated writing, delving in folios, or holding a businesslike conversation. The visiting card of R. Kravets, my new interlocutor, bears the description "administration senior economist," and he is just 25 years old.

"There is now a rapid turnover of cadres here: Many organizations which have acquired the right to direct ties are hunting 'bankers,'" he said. "For example, a representative of some newly formed joint enterprise turns up and says: 'How much do you make here? R200? We will pay you R600....'"

In all, the Vneshekonombank Socialist Countries Administration is divided into three departments, and it is R. Kravets' conviction that the one where he works is the most promising.

[Question] Are there already results in using the ruble on the principles of mutual convertibility with the koruna and the lev? [question ends]

R. Kravets tapped the keys of a personal computer tucked away in a corner of the room. ("When we move into the new building," he explained, "there will be one on every desk.") A column of figures appeared on the screen: Yes, things are moving, and the first operations involving such transactions have already been carried out. So far, however, these are just payments by Soviet enterprises and organizations for imports....

[Question] Is there anything else new in the forms of cooperation with socialist countries?

[Answer] An agreement has been concluded between the USSR Vneshekonombank and the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank to set up a joint finance company in Sofia for credit aid in developing direct ties and joint enterprises of the two countries. This company, which has been named "Bolgarsovinvest," will begin operating 1 January 1989. Or take another innovation: In view of the fact that there is no objective possibility of satisfying all the requests from Soviet organizations to be sold national currencies for rubles, the Vneshekonombank proposes to hold "currency auctions." The first will take place at the beginning of next year. Finally, the USSR Vneshekonombank is creating a network of offices in socialist countries. Thus, an office has already begun operating in Hungary, and others are very soon to be opened in Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and China. [answer ends]

...So the change of signboard at 37 Ulitsa Plyushchikha is, in its own way, portentous. It is a sign of the restructuring of foreign economic ties under way in the country and of the improvement of the currency and financial mechanism. Economic accountability and self-financing, which are now being introduced into the economic mechanisms of the majority of socialist states, are being internationalized and are also becoming the basic principles in relations among them. As a Bulgarian proverb puts it, "prompt payment makes for strong friendship." The improvement of the socialist countries' currency and financial mechanisms is becoming an important factor in the further astrengthening of our alliance.

United States & Canada

PRAVDA Views 'Conundrums' Confronting Bush

PM2112102988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Dec 88 Second Edition p 6

[Aleksandr Lyutyy "Viewpoint": "Is It Easy To Cover a Mile?"]

[Text] Someone has estimated that the distance from the White House to the Capitol building in Washington is approximately 1 mile. When heading for Capitol Hill, U.S. presidents usually cover this distance quickly—a motorcade including a low-slung black Cadillac sweeps along the centrally located Pennsylvania Avenue in just a few minutes.

But this is only in the literal sense of the word. In the language of political allegories and symbols, this mile is frequently a difficult and exhausting distance to cover, one full of unpleasant surprises. Relations between the occupant of the White House and the Capitol are so complex and strained.

How will George Bush cover this distance?

I will remind you that the Republican Party, which magnificently celebrated the victory of its chief candidate, cannot boast of successes in the elections to Congress. Far from being undermined, the Democratic majority in the Senate was even increased by one seat—the spread now is 55 to 45 in the Democrats' favor. The opposition party also added several to its already solid majority in the House of Representatives. Bush's coat simply had no tails which Republican candidates could grasp and thus "ride" into Congress, people in Washington say, adapting the well-known political metaphor. The phenomenon of Reagan, on the wave of whose mighty victory in 1980 the Republicans were able to secure a Senate majority for several years, was not repeated.

People give different explanations for the Republican Party's failure. Some lodge complaints against Bush himself for devoting insufficient attention to campaigning for his party's candidates for the supreme legislative organ. Others believe that the candidacies themselves were not always vivid and attractive. I believe that another circumstance must also not be discounted—the increasingly manifest trend among U.S. voters to vote for "separate rule." While giving the White House to a Republican and thus advocating continuity in the policy pursued by President Reagan, at the same time Americans preferred to preserve the Democrats' supremacy in Congress. A kind of counterweight has thereby been ensured, a guarantee against too great a freedom of action for the next Republican president in impiementing domestic and foreign policy.

Bush, who does not possess the "great communicator" qualities that enabled Reagan to secure much from Congress over a long period, will have to compromise far more frequently. People are already predicting dificulties in his relations with Congress on a whole series of issues. Whereas, for example, on the path of further progress in Soviet-U.S. relations Bush seemingly will not encounter serious opposition in the Capitol—a quite definite mutual understanding has developed in this regard between Democrats and Republicans in recent years—in other foreign policy areas opposition can be foreseen. Doubts about the need to maintain a high level of aid to certain Central American regimes, particularly the one in El Salvador, are increasingly palpable in the Capitol. It is also unlikely that military aid to the contras will be resumed in full.

The Democrats and certain Republicans are resolute on the question of military spending. Bush, to judge from his preelection statements, would like to go some way toward meeting the Pentagon's desire for military spending to be increased by 2 percent annually in real terms. But the Congress is increasingly inclined to freeze military spending at its present level of approximately $300 billion. If Bush is forced to concede, it cannot be ruled out that some of the programs he has promised the military department—for example, the program for creating [sozdaniye] and deploying Midgetman ICBM's—will have to be abandoned.

The question of whether the next president will make some cuts in the military spending sector is directly linked with the most painful problem for him—the problem of the huge federal budget deficit, which totaled $155.1 billion in the last fiscal year. President Reagan managed to push this time bomb into a distant corner for several years, but under Bush, it could explode.

Having promised voters that he will on no account raise taxes or cut social programs, Bush has cut to a minimum his freedom to maneuver in resolving the deficit problem. If he attempts to remain true to his promise, the scissors of austerity will hardly affect military spending.

Thus, complex political conundrums await the new master of the White House on the Washington "mile."

Work of Bush Transition Team Profiled

PM2112105788 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[F. Smirnov article: "After the U.S. Elections: G. Bush Assembles His Team"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] A fleeting glance at the upper echelon of the new administration is enough to realize that it consists virtually entirely of people who have been working in Washington and have gained considerable political experience. Many of them are old acquaintances and even friends of Bush.

The fate of the less important posts is decided, many believe, at the "transition team's" headquarters. It is housed in an imposing building on Connecticut Avenue, not far from the Hilton Hotel where an attempt was made on President Reagan's life in 1981. For each of the approximately 100 permanent staffers there are 2 or 3 volunteer helpers wading through biographical references, summaries, and resumes. They arrive by mail, by courier, they are slipped in through open windows, and pushed into mailboxes at the homes of the "team" members. Almost every document is a description of some bright talent and wealth of experience which the new administration simply cannot do without!

Approximately $3.5 million has been allocated from the budget for the "transition team's" upkeep. Direct control of the way the money is spent is exercised by Raymond Fontaine, comptroller of the General Services Administration. He has handled the financing of all "transition teams" since President Johnson's time. Strict restrictions are usually adhered to: no luxury rooms, champagne, or caviar at the state's expense.

Until recently, however, few people knew that the main decisions on the new appointments in the past few days were made not on Connecticut Avenue but rather somewhere completely different. A small committee—just six people—has been holding regular meetings in an administrative building adjoining the White House.

The composition of the "six" is noteworthy. Apart from Bush it includes James Baker, Nicholas Brady, John Sununu—the future White House chief of staff. The other two are "transition team" leaders Robert Teeter, political consultant during Bush's election campaign, and Craig Fuller, the vice president's chief of staff.

Strange as it may seem, future U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle is not among the "six." And even though Bush has said that he may attend committee sessions when he wishes, everyone knows that this is no more than a show of politeness. By all accounts, Bush and his aides still do not consider the senator from Indiana to be "one of the boys."

However, the new vice president is not put out in the least. He will recall that 8 years ago when Ronald Reagan was elected president, his Californian entourage looked down on the "outsider from Texas." Now that "outsider" is about to become the White House boss himself. So 41-year-old Dan Quayle is not downhearted: He still has time to become "one of the boys." Plenty of time.

U.S. Envoy Urges Further Soviet Troop Cuts

PM2112150188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Dec 88 First Edition p 3

[Captain 2d Class V. Kocherov report: "More Contacts, More Confidence"]

[Text] On 19 December a meeting took place between professors, teachers, and students of the Prof N.Ye. Zhukovskiy Military Air Engineering Academy and Jack F. Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union.

In his speech, the U.S. ambassador to the USSR noted in particular that Soviet-U.S. relations have changed for the better and that they are now at a more interesting and dynamic stage than at any time during his diplomatic career, which dates back to 1956. The nuclear age leaves us no choice: We must preserve peace. This was what President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev said at the Geneva meeting: "Nuclear war must not be launched, for there can be no winners in it."

Later Jack F. Matlock stressed that our leaders, guided by these central imperatives of the nuclear age, concluded the historic Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Talks are continuing on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive armaments; he hopes that in the near future this treaty will also be concluded. The talks on the universal elimination of chemical weapons as well as the upcoming talks between the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries on the establishment of an equal, stable, and secure level of conventional armaments and forces in Europe are particularly important.

I would particularly like to note, the U.S. ambassador said, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's recent UN speech in which he set out concrete plans for the reduction and reformation of the Soviet troops in the GDR, the CSSR, and Hungary, as well as his plans for giving a more defensive structure to the Soviet Armed Forces as a whole. The U.S. Administration views positively the Soviet Union's planned reduction of its troop levels and the number of its tanks, artillery systems, combat aircraft, and assault and fording equipment. These reductions will undoubtedly diminish the considerable inequality in troops and combat hardware currently existing between the armed forces of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, but, unfortunately, they will not eliminate it completely. The Soviet Government's statement on the unilateral reduction of conventional armaments is without a doubt a constructive step. But to create complete confidence in the defensive orientation of the Soviet Armed Forces requires that there be further practical steps from the USSR.

Jack F. Matlock then answered questions.

Question: Following M.S. Gorbachev's proposals to the United Nations, who should take the next step—the Warsaw Treaty or NATO states?

Answer: As I understand it, the next step will be talks between representatives of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO within the framework of the Vienna meeting. After that, there should be talks on stability in Europe. That, in my view, is the next step. We hope that we will be able to find a way to eliminate the imbalances.

Question: There is an opinion in our country that, following the Soviet proposals on the unilateral reduction of armed forces and conventional forces, it is now NATO's turn to act. How realistic is this view?

Answer: The Soviet initiative is a very constructive one but, as I have already said, even after the reductions, the advantage will still rest with the Soviet Union.

Question: How do you assess the present situation in Afghanistan?

Answer: As for the political aspect of the situation, I think that the agreement in Geneva is very important. Only the Afghans can decide what kind of government they should have. I think that it is hard to resolve this question in advance, before the Soviet troop withdrawal. We are not seeking to complicate this process in any way. I do not think that we have ever threatened the Soviet Union either directly or indirectly from Afghan territory. It is very important for international politics to create an independent state and government there.

Answers were given to other questions.

Northeast Asia

Further on Shevardnadze Visit to Japan

Urges Resolution of Issues

OW2012194788 Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese 1200 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Segment of lecture by Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze at a Tokyo hotel "after having concluded talks" with Japanese Foreign Minister Uno on the evening of 20 December; in Russian with simultaneous Japanese translation by newscaster Mariko Kobayashi—recorded; from the "News Today" program]

[Text] [Video shows Shevardnadze standing at a podium, speaking before audience] We can and must open a new chapter in Soviet-Japanese relations, with you. We should cooperate, in the interests of all mankind. We can and must do so. If there is an unsettled issue between us, we should converse and have a dialogue to find a clue to its solution. However, we should never hold all other matters hostage to the solution of this issue. I am convinced: On this we should be satisfied. [as heard] There are factors clearly related to a dynamic move. First of all, there is a desire to open a new chapter, a new page in Soviet-Japanese relations.

The Soviet side has regularly and consistently proposed that the issue of a peace treaty be studied and that this proposal be written on a new page. We should study a mutually annoying problem within this framework. It is our intention to tackle this issue at a working group. The talk will be conducted at a level of the two countries' foreign deputy ministers.

In our talks I have agreed with Foreign Minister Uno to achieve closer relations between the two countries. We are also thinking of a Soviet-Japanese summit meeting. This is not a matter of the distant future. The summit meeting has been put on our political schedule. However, we should make full preparations.

In the Soviet Union people view future bilateral relations from a new international angle. It should not be simply geographical proximity that satisfies us. We aspire to greater and better things. If there remains a sore spot somewhere, we intend to take remedial measures with a new way of political thinking. [video of Shevardnadze speaking continues briefly after conclusion of audio]

On USSR Joining IMF, World Bank

OW2012143588 Tokyo KYODO in English 1359 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Tokyo, Dec. 20 KYODO—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze on Tuesday called for continued efforts to settle "unresolved problems" between Japan and the Soviet Union, if they exist.

Shevardnadze's use of the phrase during his hour-long speech given at a Tokyo hotel in the evening, is considered as a veiled reference to the existence of a territorial dispute with Japan over four small islands off Hokkaido—Etorofu, Kunashiri, Shikotan and the Habomai Group, which the Soviet Union seized after World War II.

Although Japan and the Soviet Union have already shown they can survive on their own, mutual cooperation is needed if healthy international exchanges are to occur, he said.

Shevardnadze, who is on a four-day visit to Japan through Wednesday, said progress in bilateral relations must not be held hostage to any single issue. Japan has argued, however, that the settlement of the territorial dispute is a precondition for developing closer ties between Tokyo and Moscow.

Shevardnadze said the Soviet Union is considering the future of its policy toward Japan in light of new international realities.

Even if there remains "something painful" between the Soviet Union and Japan, Moscow intends to adopt a fresh approach on the basis of new thinking, he said.

Shevardnadze said he and Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno have agreed to engage more frequently in dialgoue at the foreign ministerial level to pave the way for a Japan-Soviet summit.

Although, he did not indicate any clear timetable for Kremlin leader Mikhail Gorbachev's possible visit to Japan, the Soviet foreign minister said such a trip could be held in the near future.

Shevardnadze said he is fully satisfied with the latest three rounds of regular consultations with Uno, which he said will help open a new chapter in Soviet-Japanese relations.

Saying that the Soviet Union proposed establishing a working group on reaching a bilateral peace pact, the Soviet foreign minister said such a group would discuss all areas of concern to both nations.

He said the United Nations and its affiliated agencies are the best place to work out rules and standards acceptable for all parties, adding that the Soviet Union is studying the possibility of joining the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and other international bodies.

Gorbachev's perestroyka (restructuring) initiative must operate hand in hand with a policy of peaceful coexistence, he added.

Gives 21 Dec News Conference

PM2212120588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "E.A. Shevardnadze's News Conference"]

[Text] Tokyo—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, held a news conference here today [21 December]. He said:

I would like to commence this meeting by expressing deep gratitude to Japanese journalists for the attention and interest in our visit, and for its objective coverage. I think that both in our country and in Japan there is a certain feeling of dissatisfaction with the way things have been going in Soviet-Japanese relations to date.

This feeling is completely justified. This is because we see how fast the world around us is changing and we understand that as far as such states as the USSR and Japan are concerned, it is necessary for them not just to have normal relations, but also to cooperate closely in the international arena.

Whatever yardstick is used, both our countries represent a substantial part of the world, and what is or will be taking place in the world is not something to which we are indifferent and will, in a certain sense, depend on our actions.

The dynamics of the development of the international situation are today very high. It is enough to look at the last 2 years to convince oneself of the accelerating pace and change. Many things which seemed impossible to us before have now become facts of the political landscape.

Here it is very significant that the positive changes predominate decisively over negative ones. It is not by chance that we speak of the emergence of a new quality in the trends of world developments. It is this which has given M.S. Gorbachev grounds to put forward in New York major proposals on the restructuring of international relations and on their democratization, humanization, and internationalization and their subordination to common human interests.

I am saying this in order to show that Soviet-Japanese relations have been placed in a new political context by time itself.

In my view, the significance of the talks held in Tokyo over recent days lies primarily in the fact that they have provided an affirmative answer to one very important and fundamental question: Both the Japanese and the Soviet sides understand that their relationship should not be left out of the stream of historical development and lag behind the front-running tendencies of world politics. One might say: Both sides see the challenge of the times; they are not retreating from it and are ready to seek the necessary solutions through joint efforts.

Let me stress: It is not a matter of anyone making concessions or doing more than the other. We are jointly working out mutually acceptable approaches which take into account the principled positions of the sides.

Assessing the results of the talks, we consider that an important step has been taken here in Tokyo—this can be said without exaggeration—one which opens up great prospects for Soviet-Japanese political dialogue and for the practical development of our relations.

As you know, I conveyed to Prime Minister Takeshita a message form M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. I am very pleased with the very interesting, meaningful, and profound conversation which we had.

What did we agree upon specifically?

The prime minister approved the idea which I discussed with Mr Uno that the ministers should begin energetically to study questions related to a Soviet-Japanese summit meeting.

It is intended that Mr Uno and I will meet again as early as the first half of January at an international conference in Paris on questions related to a ban on chemical weapons and subsequently in Moscow; we shall hold substantive and purposeful consultations on all aspects of a summit meeting.

These consultations will enable us to obtain a more accurate idea about the time and, accordingly, the agenda for a meeting of our countries' supreme leaders.

In other words, the ministers are beginning to act as a summit preparation committee.

We believe that this accord is extremely important for the further development of our relations. I very much liked Mr Takeshita's idea that there are no insoluble problems, while there is a wish to resolve them.

At the same time a mechanism is being set up to examine, on a permanent basis, the question of a peace treaty between our countries within the framework of which the entire complex of problems concerning each of the sides will be examined.

This mechanism will function on three levels: experts; deputy ministers; and foreign ministers.

Both sides proceed from the fact that serious and intensive work, geared toward achieving results, will be carried out in this direction.

In general, we have reached an understanding that the Soviet-Japanese dialogue will encompass the sphere of bilateral relations, cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region, and tackling global problems.

During the present talks we spoke thoroughly about the range of problems raised in M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations and exchanged views on ways to strengthen security and develop cooperation in the Asian-Pacific region. We have seen that Japan is very familiar with the ideas expressed on this issue in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk.

The situation in other regions was also broached, in particular the Near East and certain other areas, but the situation on the Korean peninsula was examined in particular detail.

A new aspect has appeared in the practice of our talks—in accordance with an accord between our sides, expert groups on a peace treaty, on regional problems, and on bilateral relations were set up during the present visit in addition to the talks between ministers.

During the exchange of views on trade and economic relations between the two countries, we noted that the restructuring of the economic mechanism taking place in the Soviet Union is creating additional, favorable preconditions for the expansion of cooperation in this field.

I wish to inform journalists that the sides expressed their mutual intention to assist the further development of Soviet-Japanese ties in the sphere of commerce and economy on the principles of mutual advantage, including making use of new and promising forms of cooperation.

The ministers expressed satisfaction with the recent successful completion in Tokyo of the fifth session of the Soviet-Japanese fishing commission, though additional efforts must still be made in order to bring this matter to its logical conclusion.

In accordance with the Soviet-Japanese agreement on cultural ties, which was concluded in 1986, during the course of the visit the ministers exchanged notes on implementing the first intergovernmental program of cultural exchanges for 1989-90. Needless to say, successful implementation of this will undoubtedly promote the mutual cultural enrichment of our peoples.

Taking account of the Japanese side's request, and guided by humanitarian considerations, we expressed our readiness to examine in a positive light the question of increasing in 1989 the number of burial sites which Japanese are permitted to visit, where their relatives are buried on the territory of the USSR.

In order to step up our contacts in various directions, we proposed to the Japanese side that opportunities be worked out for drawing up new intergovernmental agreements in a number of areas—on cooperation in the sphere of environmental protection and on cooperaion in the tourism sphere and elsewhere.

Our side expressed readiness to conduct negotiations on concluding the following agreements in the context of preparations for a summit meeting: on cooperation in the field of environmental protection; on cooperation in the peaceful use of space; on the principles of economic cooperation; and on the mutual establishment of bank missions, insofar as the volume of credit relations between our countries has been increasing recently and will continue to do so as our links develop.

We have invited the prime minister and the foreign minister to pay official visits to the Soviet Union. Mr Uno, we believe, will come to Moscow in the spring of next year.

On the whole I would like to describe the talks that have been held as very full of goodwill in their tone and very meaningful.

Indeed, this was one of the most productive visits of the past few years.

This morning I looked over the review of the Japanese press. In their evaluation of the talks that have taken place, several papers are writing about a great victory for Japanese diplomacy. Let it be so. But nevertheless I should like to say that it was certainly the reasonable and completely realistic policy that takes into account the balance of interests of both countries and of our other partners that triumphed.

A degree of mutual understanding has been reached that enables us, in my opinion, to speak of the beginning of a new chapter in Soviet-Japanese relations.

Allow me to use this opportunity to express once again, through the Japanese press, my cordial gratitude for the sympathy and compassion, the participation and help with which the Japanese people have responded to our disaster—the destructive earthquake in Armenia.

Nor can I fail to express my sincere thanks to the Government of Japan, to Mr Uno personally, to the people of Japan, and to all the inhabitants of Tokyo for the attention, hospitality, and cordiality shown to us.

Then E.A. Shevadnadze replied to questions by journalists.

Question (YOMIURI newspaper): The attainment of an accord on holding talks to conclude a peace treaty is one of the important results of your talks. In this connection, what is the Soviet Union's current position on the "territorial question"?

Answer: The agreed upon joint communique on the results of the visit contains the following accord on talks to conclude a peace treaty: "In conformity with the accord contained in the joint Soviet-Japanese statement of 10 October 1973, the ministers held talks touching on the concluding of a Soviet-Japanese peace treaty, including questions which could make up its contents. Each side at the talks set out its understanding of the historical and political aspects related to the removal of the difficulties which exist in their bilateral relations. In this connection the ministers agreed to create a standing working group at the level of their deputies and to instruct that group to continue discussion with the aim of contributing to the further advancement of talks concerning the concluding of a peace treaty which are being held between the foreign ministers." I believe this is one of the important results. The appropriate formulation is the result of 2 days of quite persistent, interesting, and meaningful discussions—both on the level of the working groups and on ministerial level. A peace treaty is a very complex set of political, economic, geographical, and many other issues. So we are beginning a very complex and difficult but at the same time very responsible and necessary operation. Experts, deputy foreign ministers, and the ministers themselves will take part in it.

Question (KYODO news agency): When will a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting be held, and what documents may be adopted at it? Does the Soviet Union intend to establish diplomatic relations with South Korea? What is the attitude in the DPRK toward the establishment of contacts between your country and South Korea?

Answer: The date for a Soviet-Chinese summit has not yet been fixed. Agreement in principle has been reached that it will take place in the first half of next year. As you know, a reciprocal visit by the USSR foreign minister to the PRC is to be made soon—it is not impossible that it might be at the end of January or the beginning of February. During this visit we have in mind to come to an agreement with the Chinese leadership on a specific date for the summit meeting. As concerns possible final documents, light will be thrown on these as well during the USSR foreign minister's visit to Beijing.

With regard to Korea, I can say that we have adopted a decision to establish trade and economic ties with South Korea on a nongovernmental level. This does not mean establishment of either diplomatic or state-to-state relations in any form whatsoever. Our friends in the DPRK, with whom we are bound by relations as allies, were informed in advance of this decision. I am confident that my forthcoming visit to the DPRK will take place in the spirit of friendship and mutual understanding which is traditional for our two countries.

Question (Soviet television): Was the issue of any specific forms of Soviet-Japanese economic cooperation, in particular the setting up of joint enterprises, referred to in the course of the talks?

Answer: I think you understand that it is almost impossible to solve such specific issues at such talks. But in the course of the discussions with the prime minister, the foreign minsiter, and other politicians of Japan we expressed ourselves in favor of an intensive development of economic, trade, and scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and Japan. We proposed to the Japanese side that a solid, fundamental agreement be prepared on the principles of economic cooperation between the two countries. We proposed the conclusion of an agreement on mutual investment protection. All these issues will be a subject of discussion at future meetings of foreign ministers. The very same issues are being dealt with by the appropriate bilateral, specialized intergovernmental commissions. Anyway, I think that our prospects are very good.

Question (ASAHI newspaper): The 1956 joint declaration by the USSR and Japan speaks of the Soviet Union transferring the islands of Habomai and Shikotan to Japan after the conclusion of a peace treaty, while in a number of 1960 documents the Soviet side renounced such promise. What is your attitude toward that?

Answer: It was not by chance that I referred to the joint communique agreed upon by us in Tokyo, which was discussed here for 2 days. Turn your attention to these words: "Each side set out its understanding of the historical and political aspects connected with the removal of the existing difficulties in their bilateral relations." We discussed not only questions dealing with the documents of the fifties and sixties, but went quite seriously deeper into history, recalling, for example, 1855, 1875, and 1905, and examining the 1950's. In the end we decided to refer back to the joint declaration of 10 October 1973. I think we found the most reasonable formula in the communique for us to be able to start serious talks on a peace treaty. You are well aware of what that peace treaty is, and what elements it comprises.

Question (ASAHI paper): I imagine, nonetheless, that priority must still be given to the joint declaration of the USSR and Japan of 1956. What do you think of this?

Answer: You are very well aware of what happened after 1956 and in what connection the situation changed. I will ask you a counter question: Do you like the formulation I mentioned in the communique? If you don't, then address yourself to Mr Uno, the Japanese foreign minister.

Further on News Conference

OW2212075988 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze wound up his visit to Japan on 21 December. Moscow radio correspondent Potapov reports from Tokyo:

Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze held a news conference at the press center at 1000 Tokyo time on 21 December. Evaluating the talks in Tokyo, he stressed that the significance of the talks, among other things, was that both sides found a clear answer to basic and important issues. In other words, both sides reached an understanding that relations between the two countries should not deviate from the flow of history and lag behind the major trend of world politics.

He went on to say: I think that in Tokyo we took an important step in opening up prospects for political dialogue between our two countries and further development of our bilateral relations. I handed Prime Minister Takeshita a personal letter from Gorbachev, who is president of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and concurrently general secretary of the CPSU Central Commmittee. I had interesting, substantial, and profound talks with Prime Minister Takeshita, and I am extremely satisfied with them.

As for specific matters agreed upon by both sides, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze said: Prime Minister Takeshita approved the discussions between me and Foreign Minister Uno on beginning preparations for a Soviet-Japanese summit. A mechanism will be established to discuss matters related to the conclusion of a peace treaty and all other matters of concern to both countries. The Japanese side included the territories issue among these matters. This mechanism will function through the holding of meetings at three levels, the expert, vice foreign ministerial, and foreign ministerial level. Both sides believe that they will seriously and positively work together at these meetings. The joint communique calls for the creation of other working groups.

Questioned by a Moscow radio reporter on the possibility of economic exchanges between the Soviet Union and Japan, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze said that both sides agreed to develop and strengthen cooperation in the fields of economy, trade, science, and technology. He added that this agreement was included in the joint communique. He went on to say that both sides exchanged candid views on the international situation, peace and disarmament, regional issues, and the Asia-Pacific situation, and that this was included in the communique.

Concluding the news conference, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze expressed his heartfelt gratitude to the Japanese people for their sympathy and aid to victims of the earthquake in Armenia.

He left for Manila on 21 December. After winding up his visit to the Philippines, he will visit the DPRK.

KYODO Reports Briefing

OW2112090288 Tokyo KYODO in English 0653 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Tokyo, Dec. 21 KYODO—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said here Wednesday that the Soviet Union and Japan will use their 1973 joint communique as a point of departure for future discussions on a territorial dispute.

Speaking to reporters at the Japan National Press Club just prior to his departure for Manila, Shevardnadze also said that he and Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno agreed to establish a group of experts, headed by their deputies, to continue working-level dialogue on the issue of a peace treaty.

Rejecting earlier bilateral accords relating to the so-called "northern territories" claimed by Japan but occupied by the Soviets since shortly after World War II, Shevardnadze said the October 10, 1973 joint statement is "the most appropriate formulation to begin serious discussions on a peace treaty."

The grey-haired Communist Party Politburo member said the new joint statement contains a provision stating that the 1973 summit communique will serve as the basis for further talks on removing obstacles that have prevented the signing of a peace treaty, an indirect reference to the territorial dispute.

In the 1973 communique, issued by the Japanese Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka and Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev, the two countries agreed that unresolved problems pending since the last war should be settled and a peace pact concluded in order to establish a basis for normalized relations.

Shevardnadze indicated to reporters that Moscow has disavowed the relevant passage on the territorial issue in the 1956 joint declaration, which provided for the return of two of the occupied islands claimed by Japan. The 1956 statement reestablished diplomatic ties between Tokyo and Moscow.

When asked why the Soviets retreated from the 1956 agreement ratified by the Supreme Soviet and the Japanese Diet, Shevardnadze replied, "you know very well what happened after 1956, how the situation changed," said Shevardnadze.

Moscow issued a memorandum in 1962 accusing Japan of invalidating the agreement by renewing its security arrangement with the United States.

Japan has interpreted the 1956 agreement to mean that all four islands should be returned en bloc as a prerequisite to a peace treaty, while the Soviets have stated publicly that they intend to make no territorial concessions.

Implying that the 1956 agreement is now a product of a bygone age, Shevardnadze said the Soviets consented to discuss the terrirorial issue in the vein of "longstanding questions dating back to 1855, 1875, and 1905."

While each side remained glued to their original "basic stances," Japanese Foreign Ministry officials noted a significant change in Soviet willingness to confront the territorial issue head-on, in contrast with its past refusal to acknowledge the issue.

Shevardnadze said the latest communique will include a passage saying that, "at the negotiations each side set forth its understanding of the historical and political aspects relating to the differences which still exist in the bilateral relationship."

On the contents of an eventual peace treaty, Shevardnadze said, "it is not just a piece of paper, it represents an amalgamation of political, economical, georgraphical and other questions."

Speaking of the fluid international situation which he said Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has helped bring about, Shevardnadze noted that, "many things that used to seem impossible once have now become facts on the world political landscape."

"I like Mr. (Prime Minister Noboru) Takeshita's remark that no problems are unsolvable when there is a willingness to solve them," he said. Shevardnadze met with Takeshita on Tuesday and invited him to visit Moscow.

Shevardnadze said Soviet-Japan relations "have been placed in a new kind of political environment," and called on them not to "lag behind in the flow of historial development and in the progressive trend of world politics."

He called on relations to be a two-way street. "It is not a matter of one side conceding anything, doing more than the other," he said.

In assessing his Japan visit, Shevardnadze said, "We attained a degree of understanding which allows us to speak of beginning a new chapter in Soviet-Japan relations." He characterized the talks as "good in atmosphere and substantive in content."

The Soviet foreign minister noted that Japanese newspapers have been hailing the talks as a "diploamtic victory" for Japan, and said, "So be it. This is a victory for realistic policies."

On the possibility of a visit by Gorbachev to Japan, Shevardnadze noted that he will meet with Uno again in Paris in the first half of January at an international meeting on chemical weapons, and again in Moscow next spring for the next round of regular ministerial talks.

He said that in their coming meetings, the two ministers, whom he said are "beginning to act as a preparatory committee for the summit," will gain a more precise idea on the date and agenda of the summit.

Questioned on expanded trade relations with South Korea and the likelihood that the Soviet Union will follow Hungary's example in opening up diplomatic relations, Shevardnadze said the two are not to be equated.

Joint Communique Issued on Visit

PM2212120988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

["Joint Soviet-Japanese Communique"]

[Text] E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, paid an official visit to Japan 18-21 December 1988 at the invitation of the Japanese Government.

E.A. Shevardnadze had a meeting with Japanese Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita. During the course of the meeting the sides emphasized the great significance of a dialogue between the supreme leaders of both countries for the further development of bilateral relations. In this connection Prime Minister N. Takeshita reaffirmed the invitation to M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to pay an official visit to Japan.

E.A. Shevardnadze stated that M.S. Gorbachev would be prepared to visit Japan within the context of a general improvement in Soviet-Japanese relations. In this connection an understanding had been reached between the Soviet and Japanese foreign ministers on carrying out preparatory work for this visit, at the center of which would be meetings between the USSR and Japanese foreign ministers.

The Soviet side passed on an invitation to N. Takeshita, prime minister of Japan, to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union.

On behalf of the government and people of Japan, the prime minister expressed sincere sympathy to E.A. Shevardnadze in connection with the tragic natural disaster which hit Soviet Armenia. On behalf of the Soviet people and leadership of the Soviet Union, the USSR foreign minister expressed deep gratitude to the people and Government of Japan for the sympathy and aid rendered.

In the form of a regular consultative meeting, E.A. Shevardnadze and Sosuke Uno, Japanese foreign minister, held talks which discussed questions of Soviet-Japanese relations and topical international problems of mutual interest.

E.A. Shevardnadze explained the essence of the initiatives put forward by M.S. Gorbachev at the 43d UN General Assembly session, including those relating to the significant unilateral reduction of Soviet Armed Forces in the European and Asian parts of the Soviet Union.

S. Uno set out the basic course of Japanese diplomacy and explained that Japan will conduct the "initiative on international cooperation" proclaimed by Prime Minister N. Takeshita in London in May 1988 and will make a contribution in the interests of the international community in accordance with its growing economic potential.

The ministers gave a positive assessment of the constructive and useful elements contained in the two sides' initiatives.

E.A. Shevardnadze and S. Uno confirmed the aspiration of the two sides to improve Soviet-Japanese relations. They agreed that they can and should strive to open a new chapter in their development.

The common opinion was expressed that a progressive development in relations between the two countries is in keeping not only with their own interests but with the cause of peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region and throughout the world.

The ministers arrived at a common opinion on the usefulness of the further development of contacts between political figures of the two countries, including at high level.

The sides reaffirmed their accord on holding regular consultative meetings between the foreign ministers of the two countries at least once a year alternately in Moscow and Tokyo and they also agreed to expand their reciprocal contacts using other possibilities. E.A. Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister, invited S. Uno, Japanese foreign minister, to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union in 1989 to hold the next consultative meeting. The invitation was accepted with gratitude. Specific dates for the visit will be agreed through diplomatic channels.

In line with an accord registered in the joint Soviet-Japanese statement of 10 October 1973, the ministers held talks concerning the conclusion of a Soviet-Japanese peace treaty, including the issues which might be part of one. At the talks, each side set forth its understanding of the historical and political aspects connected with the elimination of the difficulties existing in bilateral relations.

In connection with this, the ministers agreed to set up a permanently operating working group at the level of their deputies and to instruct this group to continue discussions with the aim of promoting the further progress of talks on the conclusion of a peace treaty being held between the foreign ministers.

The sides made a positive appraisal of the practice of annual consultations at the deputy foreign minister level between the two countries, and spoke in favor of continuing it. The next such consultation will take place in Tokyo in 1989, at a time agreed upon by the sides.

A positive appraisal was also made of the practice of consultations between the relevant subdeparments of the USSR Foreign Ministry and the Japanese Foreign Ministry on issues connected with the work of the United Nations, and on those concerning the situation in the near East.

The sidds agreed to expand the practice of exchanging Foreign Ministry staff of the two countries for the purpose of familiarization and deepening mutual understanding.

E.A. Shevardnadze and S. Uno highly appraised the regular staging of consultations between the governments of the two countries on trade and economic questions and of sessions of the commission on scientific and technological cooperation, as well as the staging of the first session of the Soviet-Japanese commission on cultural ties as a contribution to the expansion of dialogue and cooperation between the two countries.

Basing themselves on the results of the 11th meeting of the Soviet-Japanese and Japanese-Soviet committees for economic cooperation and the Soviet-Japanese intergovernmental consultations on trade and economic questions which have been held, the ministers expressed their readiness to promote the further expansion of trade and economic relations between the USSR and Japan on the basis of mutual advantage, taking into account the economic restructuring in the Soviet Union and the structural changes in the economy of Japan.

The common intention was confirmed to put further effort into expanding cooperation in the domain of fisheries in accordance with the agreements between the Soviet and Japanese Governments on mutual relations in the domain of fishing off the coasts of both countries, and on cooperation in the domain of fisheries, starting from the principal of mutual advantage.

In accordance with the agreement between the Soviet and Japanese Governments on cultural links, the ministers exchanged diplomatic notes on the coming into force of the program worked out at the first session of the Soviet-Japanese commission on cultural links in December 1988 in Tokyo, implementing the aforementioned agreement for the period from 1 April 1989 to 31 March 1991, and they expressed their desire to contribute to its successful implementation.

The sides assessed positively the fact that two more fields—conservation of the environment and earthquake forecasting—have been added to the program of scientific-technical cooperation, adopted at the fifth session of the Soviet-Japanese commission for scentific-technical cooperation held in December this year, in addition to the previously agreed upon five fields of cooperation, namely agriculture and forestry, thermonuclear synthesis, radiation medicine, wave gear systems, and artificial hearts. They expressed satisfaction with the progress of the scientific-technical cooperation being carried out between the two countries on the basis of mutual advantage and agreed to promote its further advancement.

The sides expressed the conviction that on the basis of the convention between the Soviet and Japanese Governments on the protection of migrant birds and birds in danger of extinction, and their habitat, which came into force on 20 December 1988, cooperation in this field will develop.

In connection with the request of Japanese Foreign Minister S. Uno concerning visits by Japanese people to the burial places of their relatives, the Soviet side stated that, guided by feelings of humaneness, it will take a positive approach on this question.

There was a thorough and frank exchange of opinion on the state of the current international situation, including questions of peace and disarmament, regional problems, and the situation in the Asia-Pacific region.

The sides expressed satisfaction with the fact that positive changes have recently been taking place in international relations. The ministers gave a positive appraisal of the progressive development of the dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States, in particular the holding of Soviet-U.S. summit meetings and the improvement of East-West relations achieved during the course of this dialogue, including the signing and implementation of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, and the signing of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan. They stressed the need for the continuation of efforts in the field of disarmament and arms control, the settlement of regional problems, and the securing of human rights in order to establish stable relations between East and West.

The sides stressed the need for further efforts toward ensuring peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region, and declared that they will each proceed from their own positons in making a positive contribution to the achievement of this goal, including the easing of tension in the Korean peninsula, the settlement of the Cambodian question, and other issues.

Agreement on the importance of enhancing the role of the United Nations in guaranteeing peace and international security, and of enhancing the effectiveness of its work, was ascertained.

Mutual understanding was reached that, with the aim of further strengthening positive tendencies in the contemporary international atmosphere, the sides will continue to conduct an exchange of opinions and expand the dialogue on topical problems confronting the world community.

A useful discussion was also held in working groups on bilateral relations and on regional problems, for a more detailed examination of isues raised during the meetings between the mnisters.

The Soviet-Japanese talks held in Tokyo passed in a businesslike and frank [otkrovennyy] atmopshere, and were meaningful and useful for both sides.

Japanese Official Views 'Successful' Talks

LD2112231488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] [Announcer] Comrade Shevardnadze has arrived in Manila upon completing his official visit to Japan. Our Tokyo correspondent Pavel Potapov reports:

[Potapov] In the morning Comrade Shevardnadze held a news conference in the Japanese press center. The USSR foreign minister assessed the talks which took place in Tokyo and stressed that an important step has been taken, which opens up great prospects for Soviet-Japanese political dialogue and the practical development of bilateral relations.

Comrade Shevardnadze said that during his visit a detailed and frank exchange of views was held on the state of the present day international situation, including questions of peace and disarmament, regional problems and the situation in the Asian-Pacific region and on the Korean peninsula. The sides also expressed readiness to assist the further expansion of trade and economic

relations between the USSR and Japan on the basis of mutual advantage, taking into account economic restructuring in the Soviet Union and the structural changes in Japan.

In an interview for Soviet radio and television, Chief Cabinet Secretary Keizo Obuchi assessed the results of Comrade Shevardnadze's visit as follows:

I, as a representative of Japan, wish to express profound sympathy in connection with the tragedy that has befallen Armenia due to a devastating earthquake, Keizo Obuchi says.

Mr Shevardnadze paid a visit to Japan 2 and ½ years after his previous arrival and we are very pleased with the successful completion of the Japanese-Soviet talks.

We highly evaluate the sincere and serious exchange of views on the question of the international situation and Japanese-Soviet relations.

To our great regret no final resolution was achieved of the territorial issue, which, in our view, is the main obstacle in the way of developing Japanese-Soviet relations.

Nevertheless, thanks to these talks, the dialogue between our countries will broaden and this is satisfying. We evaluate the results of the talks very highly, because they can be the first step toward resolving the territorial issue and, next, also toward concluding a peace treaty, Keizo Obuchi notes.

For over 3 years Gorbachev, together with Shevardnadze, has been putting into effect a new diplomatic philosophy. Previously we considered Soviet foreign policy concepts to be dogmatic. However, now we see that the new political thinking is notable for its great flexibility. We expect it will also have an effect on Soviet policy toward Japan.

USSR Foreign Minister Shevardnadze said that the Soviet Union intends to act on the sore points in our relations with the healing remedies of the new political thinking. We regard this statement seriously and count on its practical implementation, Keizo Obuchi noted.

PRAVDA Article on Japanese Relations Cited

OW2212014388 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 17 Dec 88

["Excerpts" of 17 December PRAVDA article by Tokyo correspondent Igor Latyshev on Soviet-Japanese relations]

[Text] The newspaper PRAVDA on 17 December carried a lengthy article by Tokyo correspondent Latyshev on Soviet-Japanese relations.

Today we will present you excerpts from the article.

To Japan, a country which is geographically closest to the Soviet Union. Japan's present economic situation is fairly stable, but managers of many large corporations are showing an extraordinary interest in expansion of relations with the Soviet Union.

The recent development of an increased trade volume may also attest to a favorable turn in the development of Soviet-Japanese economic relations.

In Hokkaido particularly, the interest in friendly relations with the Soviet Union is conspicuous. Local newspapers report on hopes of people in Kushiro, Wakkanai, and other cities for making direct contact with the nearest areas in Sakhalin Oblast.

The Japanese-Soviet Friendship Halls in Hokkaido are continuing to play an important role in the movement for deepening relations between the Soviet and Japanese peoples. These halls were built under the initiative of the local people in Sapporo, Kushiro, Wakkanai, and Sarobetsu.

The wide-ranging association between Japan and the Soviet Union in such areas as academics, technology, culture and sports indicates, above all, a great concern in restructuring and other aspects of Soviet life.

The new Soviet peace initiative advocated by General Secretary Gorbachev in his UN address met with the approval of a broad section of Japanese public opinion. Even distrustful people among Japanese political commentators appraised the new peace proposal as proof of the sincere efforts of the Soviet Union to reduce the level of the global military confrontation.

Regrettably, however, the Soviet-Japanese relationship at the official level still has room for improvement. This is the situation despite the fact that signs of detente have begun appearing in recent world developments.

The groundless, willy-nilly territorial demand remains today to be a large, artificial obstacle laid down by those who oppose Japan-Soviet friendship. The territorial demand is brought out as a certain necessary condition for improving bilateral relations. Such a plainly unacceptable condition cannot help but create a deadlock. It is impossible to make succeed negotiations with the Soviet Union with words of an ultimatum. The readiness of both sides to discuss issues in the spirit of realism can be a foundation for (?fruitful) dialogue acceptable to both sides.

The Japanese Government's political line on Soviet relations remains contradictory. Visible in the actions of government agencies is the influence of those trying to check the development of state-to-state relations. The Japanese Foreign Ministry's attitude toward the Soviet peace proposal advanced in General Secretary Gorbachev's Krasnoyarsk speech, for instance, is ambiguous.

Many representatives of various circles in Japan accept the Soviet peace proposal as containing the possibility for relaxing tensions in the Asia-Pacific region.

Meanwhile, the Defense Agency is taking the line of building up Japan's armaments under the pretext of coping with the so-called Soviet threats. Joint exercises with the United States are being conducted at all areas close to the Soviet coast.

Higher echelons of the Japanese MITI [Ministry of International Trade and Industry] recently tried to attack Daikin, a trading house, on grounds that it violated COCOM [Coordinating Committee on Multilateral Export Controls] rules which ban trade with the Soviet Union.

On the other hand, the Japanese Government's present stance toward the Soviet Union has shown some advances which make one entertain hope. The accent in statements by Japanese leaders is occasionally shifting to a constructive attitude in relations with the Soviet Union.

Soon a foreign ministerial consultation between the two countries will be held in Tokyo. Public opinion in both countries hopes that the forthcoming consultation will help induce the development and deepening of relations between the two countries.

Meanwhile, the Japanese Government's decision to send more than 1 billion yen in token of its sympathy to the victims of the Armenian earthquake has been received with gratitude among the Soviet people.

Generally, this is the present situation of Soviet-Japanese relations. Does this not indicate the fact that there is no reason for either the Soviet Union or Japan to shun each other?

It is not fortuitous that good-neighborly contact between societies of the two countries is formed and functions in a divided condition. This process serves as a ground for believing that the Japanese Government is more prepared than before for improving ties with the Soviet Union.

Future of Japanese Relations Viewed

OW2212031888 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 15 Dec 88

[Text] A few days ago, the department concerned announced that Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze will pay an official visit to Japan during the second half of December this year. Here is a commentary on the present status and prospects of Soviet-Japanese relations.

The people have expected Soviet-Japanese relations to start a new chapter. Although the Soviet Union and Japan are two great neighboring countries, the present status of the relations between them is not commensurate with this fact, not to mention the fact that reform has enabled the Soviet Union to considerably develop relations with most other countries. Soviet-Japanese relations still remain unsatisfactory, and are like a beacon fire that only gives out smoke but not flame.

For many years, some people in Tokyo have danced to the tune of Washington, saying that Japan is an ally of the United States and that without improvements in Soviet-U.S. relations, it is impossible to improve Japanese-Soviet relations. Now the Soviet Union and the United States have started and are actively engaged in political dialogues, which have achieved the desired results. Substantial progress has also been made in Soviet-Chinese relations, which are heading toward complete normalization. On the whole, positive changes have taken place in the Asia-Pacific region. Against this background, stagnation of Japanese-Soviet relations is obviously an anomaly. This shows that to achieve balance in bilateral and regional interests, it is possible and imperative to promote a normal development of the relations between the two countries.

However, some people in Tokyo hold another viewpoint, saying that in its attempt to push its foreign policy in all areas, the Soviet Union cannot but improve relations with Japan. In other words, if Japan would only harden its stand a little, the Soviet Union would make concessions under pressure. People who hold this view consider reform in the Soviet Union a unilateral concession by the Soviet Union. For instance, TOKYO SHIMBUN has said that for the sake of developing Japanese-Soviet relations, it is imperative to make Moscow demonstrate a new attitude on the question of the northern territories. However, may we ask what are the factors of new thinking in Tokyo's policy? Is it wise to consider the territorial issue as an obstacle to the development of all-around relations between the two countries? We know that after the restoration of diplomatic relations between our two countries, we got along well for almost 25 years as neighboring countries. It was not until the 1980's that Tokyo unilaterally restricted political exchanges with Moscow, froze economic and trade relations between the two countries, and further curbed cultural exchanges. It joined the United States in sanctioning the Soviet Union, fiercely fanning anti-Soviet sentiment in a vain attempt to sow discord between the Japanese and the Soviet peoples, and make them distrust the Soviet people. This path obviously leads to nowhere.

Then, why do some people still doggedly refuse to give up this idea? (Jingkou), a professor of Tokyo University, said the issue of northern territories serves as an excuse for Japan to increase its military spending. In an article in ASAHI SHIMBUN, he wrote that if the Japanese Government does not raise the issue of the northern territories, it cannot justify the expansion of its armed

forces. The northern islands serve as the best pretext for this purpose. In Japan, not only the progressive people, but also most commentators who are good at thinking are beginning to realize that it is futile to make demands that sound like an ultimatum. The people have come to better understand that all disputes can be settled through mutual concession.

Lately, Soviet-Japanese relations have shown signs of improvement. The foreign ministers of the two countries exchanged visits 2 years ago. Both sides signed 5-year agreements on trade and other fields in Tokyo, and a cultural exchange agreement in Moscow. Now Shevardnadze is again paying an official visit to Japan. We hope that this visit will produce fruitful results. The Soviet Union and Japan are close neighbors as well as two big powers in Asia. They can actively cooperate to promote bilateral relations and contribute to security and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region.

Possible Joint Ventures With Japan Explored

PM2112100788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Feature comprising report on interview with Tetsuo Sato, chairman of the Japanese-Soviet Trade Association Board, by IZVESTIYA's Tokyo correspondent S. Agafonov in Tokyo, followed by "Specialist's Opinion" by V.I. Ivanov, chief of the World Economics and International Relations Institute Pacific Studies Department: "Where To Begin? Japanese Businessmen and the Creation of 'Joint Enterprise Zones'"—date not given]

[Text] **The problem of creating "joint enterprise zones" on USSR territory with the participation of foreign capital and firms is being actively discussed not only here at home, but also in foreign countries, including Japan. M.S. Gorbachev's Krasnoyarsk speech gave a new impetus to discussions on this topic. Japanese business circles are displaying keen interest in the creation of "joint enterprise zones" in the Soviet Far East. But the evaluation of the prospects of this initiative is by no means unambiguous—there are enthusiasts and skeptics holding diametrically opposite views, and there are also cautious pragmatists who adopt a wait-and-see stance, and they represent the majority. There are plenty of "pros" and "cons." In order to introduce some clarity, our Tokyo correspondent S. Agafonov asked Tetsuo Sato, chairman of the Japanese-Soviet Trade Association Board, to express his views on the matter. Here is what he had to say:**

It is, I think, obvious to everyone that radical changes have been taking place in Soviet policy toward the Asian-Pacific region in the last few years. The new thinking, on the basis of which the Soviet leadership operates in the region, arouses a wide response not only in political but also in business circles. The principle of the economic inexpediency of the arms race which has been put forward by the USSR, and the desire to strengthen interdependence between different states, are not only attractive to politicians but are equally tempting to businessmen.

Nevertheless, "temptation" is rather a vague term for business people, and it is no accident, therefore, that attention is so frequently drawn to the USSR's domestic policy in the Soviet Far East—after all, the future of the new course in the Asian-Pacific region ultimately depends on transformations there. It is, for example, necessary to urgently eliminate the lag in the infrastructure sphere. This might appear a purely domestic matter but, unless it is resolved, international economic cooperation will either be severely retarded or will become altogether impossible.

A "joint enterprise zone" on the territory of the Soviet Far East is certainly yet another important initiative helping the development of broad economic ties. People in Japan are carefully studying the ideas put forward in Krasnoyarsk about the establishment of preferential customs regimes, license deals, taxation, and so on. The Soviet side also provided public explanations during the recent international meeting in Vladivostok, which I attended. In particular, we were assured that economic privileges in the Far East regions will soon be given legislative form, and this is already a major development. So far, however, there have not been sufficient specific details. In this context, I will take the liberty of dwelling on the conditions which, in one form or another, will be raised by the Japanese side during the detailed discussion of the questions of economic cooperation zones, whether talking about joint ventures, barter deals, production sharing, or any other form of partnership relations.

These conditions come down to 10 points, which could be formulated as follows:

Any joint project must be backed by the necessary infrastructure to guarantee normal business activity—this includes the road network, housing construction, and the provision of modern communications channels, including telex and facsimile links.

Introduction and utilization, right from the development stage of projects, of Japanese accounting methods of calculating the efficiency of the future enterprise, which encompass not only the volume of deals but also the quality of manufactured output, the prospects of output sales, management and storage costs, and so on.

Mandatory conclusion of a bilateral agreement on the guaranteed protection of investment capital.

Development of the transportation network, including air transport and the fleet, modernization of ports and harbors, and construction of all facilities necessary for this purpose.

Development of industry's "third sector," or in other words the services sphere: hotels, consumer centers, tourism.

Expansion of opportunities for cooperation between Japanese cities and districts and industrial centers in Siberia and the Far East; rejection of the exclusive orientation toward major centralized projects.

Acceleration of the procedure for adopting formal legislative acts to consolidate economic privileges in the Far East.

Initial emphasis must be placed on small-scale projects and jointly operated projects which require small investment.

The main objective of any venture must be not only to earn foreign currency but primarily to select sectors whose development would further the expansion and strengthening of the region's infrastructure and the improvement of the level of the industrial base, create conditions for the consistent expansion of the volume of production, and improve the population's living standards.

These points embody both our wishes and, if you like, our doubts about the question of "joint enterprise zones" on Soviet territory. In conclusion, I could add another quite important point. The Soviet side desires to create joint enterprises primarily in the sphere of advanced technology. This is understandable, but it must also be borne in mind that the toughest international competition is also to be found in this sphere. Therefore you must thoroughly study the needs of the Japanese market and of third country markets, and only then make your choice of projects.

Tetsuo Sato added in conclusion that he is optimistic about the future of Soviet-Japanese economic ties.

Specialist's Opinion

We asked V.I. Ivanov, chief of the World Economics and International Relations Institute Pacific Studies Department, to comment on Tetsuo Sato's statement.

It is absolutely necessary to conduct an intensive dialogue with foreign colleagues and future partners in joint ventures if economic ties are to really advance successfully. In this context, T. Sato's 10 points are of interest not just to IZVESTIYA's readers; it would not go amiss if they were taken most fully into account in the practical work of our economic managers and central departments.

No matter what we think of "joint enterprise zones," those who would like to develop this venture with us are still frightened, primarily by the prospect of obtaining consents and permits, disobliging functionaries, and sluggish departments.

I would like to support the opinion expressed by the chairman of the Japanese-Soviet Trade Association Board that clear-cut legislative guarantees and a mechanism for implementing adopted laws are necessary for implementing the idea of a preferential economic status. Work is already under way in this direction, and the USSR Council of Ministers recently adopted a resolution creating a special "preferential status" for joint ventures in the Far East. The "tax break" period is increased to 3 years, while the tax on profits earned by joint ventures established in the Far East Economic Region can be reduced to 10 percent. When profits from these enterprises are transferred abroad by foreign investors, taxes can either be reduced or waived altogether for a certain period of time. This obviously can encourage joint venture activities in the Far East and generate interest not only among foreign companies but also among Soviet organizations. In a number of cases, the latter will find it less advantageous to embark on various joint projects in the central regions in view of the benefits planned for the Far East. This will ensure the transfusion of at least some of the funds needed for the region's development.

These long-awaited positive developments can only supplement but in no way replace the "special economic zones."

Ultimately, joint ventures and the formation of "special zones" are not a goal in themselves, but a means for solving paramount domestic problems, a method of consolidating our international positions—but not by senselessly felling timber and exporting logs to Japan in order to import large-diameter pipes from there, and use them to pump oil and gas to West Europe. In this sense, our long-term interests may not always coincide with the projects of our potential partners.

Incidentally, I personally would adopt a stance of cautious optimism toward the prospects of Soviet-Japanese economic contacts. In particular, T. Sato himself remarked during the recent meeting of the Soviet and Japanese public that, even though it is perfectly possible to create a joint trading company on Hokkaido to promote Soviet goods on the Japanese market, visas to Soviet personnel would be issued by Japan's Foreign Ministry. As I understand it, it is there that Japanese business loses its "penetrating power."

Another very important problem is to expand to the maximum the number of economic partners of the Far East, which still has virtually no direct ties with the United States, Canada, Australia, or New Zealand, let alone South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, and other ASEAN countries. On the whole, the idea of direct links at the level of administrative and economic regions, rather than with countries, appears quite promising, and it will bring these links themselves closer to the needs of enterprises and their collectives.

First of all, some thought should be given to the fact that quite good prospects for cooperation exist (in Amur Oblast, for example) in the agrarian sector, and especially in stockraising. Much can be achieved if the processing and subsequent export of fish products are placed on a modern basis. Labor resources from countries like China, the DPRK, and Vietnam could be used on a large scale in the construction industry and in agricultural production.

If the import of manpower is coupled with the potential of foreign construction and tourist firms, the flow of foreign tourists prepared to spend their money in our country could sharply increase. True enough, this would require the "demolition" of the "Intourist" and Aeroflot monopoly, improved transport communications, and radical changes in the entire services sphere.

Of course, T. Sato is correct in mentioning the need to avoid gigantomania, or rather to take advantage of all available opportunities, including proposals by small and medium firms. But the other extreme is also dangerous. Thus, while the Far East is moving toward a full "opening up" to economic cooperation, urgent measures are necessary to create the required infrastructure. For example: a major modern infrastructural node which could become a center of business activity on a regional scale; a modern center for tourism and recreation; and a site for international research centers.

It can be assumed with a fair degree of certainty that some foreign firms could import a series of necessary goods lacking in the Far East's stores, and obtain in exchange Soviet rubles, which would accumulate in Soviet banks and could be reinvested primarily in the sphere of services for foreign tourists and agriculture, or possibly be spent on leasing certain enterprises and setting up new cooperatives and joint enterprises which could earn the required foreign currency profit. There is no doubt that such spheres could be found. In such an event, the main outcome of joint ventures would be the transfusion of the acutely lacking managerial, commercial, and—T. Sato is right—accountancy experience. In my view, there are certain untapped opportunities for establishing a preferential economic status in the Far East. Of course, it is necessary to study and weigh up everything, but I would venture to share my personal impressions from conversations with foreign entrepreneurs and scientists.

Urgently needed goods resources (the list of articles to be imported could be updated as and when necessary) would help to satisfy the market, and the reasonable customs duties levied would supplement the central and local budgets and would help solve social problems. As for foreign currency revenues, they should be utilized in a considered and purposeful fashion, creating conditions which would encourage the accumulation of foreign currency resources—the Far East Investment Bank—and their effective utilization (both on a preferential and a commercial basis) in the interests of development and of guaranteeing qualitative structural changes.

We are a country which has qualitatively left behind many conditions which prompt some developing states, as well as China, to take measures like the "export" of their labor resources, including their utilization in "free economic zones." If you think about it, we need "joint enterprise zones" which could help entire regions and large territories to reach a much higher level of economic and social development with as little burden as possible on the central budget, and with broad access to economic collaboration with other countries and at the same time the national economy.

The Far East is ideally suited to working out these methods of economic policy and and of encouraging foreign economic ties, which are new to our country.

DPRK Ties Reviewed Prior to Shevardnadze Visit

LD2212063988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0525 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, 22 Dec (TASS)—A TASS diplomatic correspondent reports:

Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, arrives in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea today on a short working visit. This is the second visit of the head of the USSR'S foreign policy department to the DPRK. Unlike the last visit 2 years ago, this one comes during a period when positive trends have been noted in the situation on the Korean peninsula. They are being reflected in the desire by both North and South Korea to establish a dialogue aimed at seeking mutually acceptable accords regarding the establishment of summit level contacts and the development of economic and trade exchanges.

The DPRK is coming out actively with proposals to reduce the tense situation on the Korean peninsula. Its initiatives are aimed at turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone, a stage-by-state reduction in the armed forces of the DPRK and South Korea to 100,000 men, and the withdrawal of U.S. troops and their nuclear weapons from the south of the Korean peninsula. The DPRK Government is in favor of replacing the agreement on an armistice in Korea with a peace agreement with the United States, of working out a declaration on nonaggression between North and South, and holding trilateral talks with the participation of the DPRK, South Korea, and the United States.

The Soviet Union, which is vitally interested in a normalization of the situation in the Asia-Pacific region, fully supports the DPRK's constructive position. This support is a continuation of the USSR's new approach to the problems of the Asia-Pacific region in light of the proposals put forward by the Soviet leader Mikhail

Gorbachev in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk, which are aimed at reducing confrontation [konfrontatsiya] and military confrontation in the region, and at turning it into a zone of peace and cooperation.

The friendly visit to the USSR in October 1986 by Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of Workers Party of Korea and president of the DPRK, helped to strengthen the traditional friendship between the Soviet and Korean peoples. It became an expression of the two countries' desire for the further development of bilateral relations, for the struggle to restrict the nuclear arms race, and for peace on the planet.

Relations between the USSR and the DPRK in the political field are inseparable from their active economic, scientific-technical, and cultural interaction, which is based on the principles of equal rights and mutual benefits. About 70 major industrial and other projects have been built in the DPRK with the technical assistance of the USSR over the past 20 years, including the Kimchaek Metallurgical Combine, the Pukchang thermal power station, and the oil refinery at Unggi. The quest for new forms of cooperation has become a feature of the development of trade and economic ties between the two countries. Prospects have been outlined for broadening the practice of creating joint enterprises and the development of border contacts and production coodination.

For example, agreements were concluded recently on the construction of the first nuclear power station in the DPRK, the creation of the "(Hijon)-Gorkiy" joint enterprise for the production of knee-type milling machines, and the "Ivanovo-(Hijon)" international association for the production of processing centers and (?automated) machine tools. Jointly held holidays, festivals, and tours by arts kollektivs and exhibitions are of great significance in deepening relations of friendship between peoples of the two countries.

Shevardnadze Interviewed on Gorbachev UN Speech
OW2212044888 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Dear listeners, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze was interviewed by the MOSCOW NEWS weekly prior to his visits to Japan, the Philippines and the DPRK. The journal published his talk today. Shevardnadze criticized the Soviet Foreign Ministry's activities of not long ago, and discussed the improvement of the work of Soviet foreign affairs departments in accordance with Gorbachev's speech at the UN General Assembly session.

Shevardnadze described his talk as a guideline significant to Soviet diplomats. The talk has profound contents taking account of possible future trends and pointing out the orientation of foreign policy, strategy and tactics. He said: In order to ensure an organic integration of philosophy and the practice of new thinking, we still need to think of many things. It is very dangerous to interfere with other countries' internal affairs according to one's own will, and a warning against this practice is of practical significance.

The Soviet foreign minister said: It is necessary to include the following norms in the code of conduct for professional diplomats, and strictly abide by them: Force or threat of force is not to be used as a tool of foreign policy; it is necessary to respect the stand and viewpoint of the governments and peoples of other countries; [words indistinct] and accept such a reality—today, to rely on military strength or rely mainly on military strength will not strengthen the national security and eventually will even weaken the national security.

Shevardnadze added: To have a new understanding of the idea about the interests and values of mankind requires a thorough study. At the same time, it is very important to use the socialist aspects of value. Here, we have something to be proud of. Our socialist country is one of the out-and-out and active creators of civilization, not an abnormal phenomenon of history nor a tenant of civilization. We not only can accept all the values of mankind, but can also use our thinking and actions to enrich them. Gorbachev's speech at the UN General Assembly session is proof of this.

Answering the question whether the deeds of the Soviet Union contradict its words, a question foreign countries are concerned about, Shevardnadze said: Absolutely not. What we should be concerned about is another question—that is, how to turn our ideas into reality as soon as possible. For instance, it is imperative to formulate details of the disarmament plan. The Soviet Union should discuss all the details of the process with its allies because the matter concerns their security. For this reason, a task of the Soviet Foreign Ministry is to join other departments in formulating plans and measures to complete all the tasks that the Soviet Union has announced at the United Nations.

Shevardnadze said: Early next year, we should formulate the details of phasing in our plans. On the question of the Soviet Union's participation in the IMF and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, we should make new revisions in accordance with the guidelines of Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations. The work of formulating plans for solving the Third World's foreign debt problem brooks no delay either.

The Soviet foreign minister said: Judging from today's position, we have no reason to be absent from the UN-sponsored coordination meeting on assistance to less developed nations.

Shevardnadze expressed his regret that the Soviet Union in the past did not participate in those UN activities in this respect.

On the tasks of the Soviet Foreign Ministry in the fields of humanity and law, Shevardnadze said: It is a most imperative task to adopt entry and exit regulations and draft a law on freedom of belief. It is not a secret that the Soviet Union still has shortcomings with respect to implementation of international agreements on human rights. However, the human rights situation here is rapidly and remarkably improving.

On the actions taken by the Soviet Foreign Ministry in connection with the disastrous earthquake in Armenia, Shevardnadze pointed out: The diplomatic channel for receiving foreign aid is no longer closed. In the past, we did repeatedly close this channel. Our acceptance of foreign aid in fact shows the importance we attached to the values of mankind.

The Soviet Foreign Minister emphatically pointed out: This is not empty talk but a fact.

'Problem' With Aid to Mongolia Discussed

PM1612113188 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Dec 88 p 3

[Own correspondent L. Arikh article under rubric "Problem!": "'Who Needs Me?' Asks Anatoliy Shumak, One of Many Soviet Specialists Working in the Heart of Mongolia"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar—On the 2d day of my trip to Bayanhongor Aymag, a rather thin young man looked into my hotel room and introduced himself: "Anatoliy Shumak, heating engineer from the 'Baydrag' State Farm."

When Anatoliy Shumak, chief machine operator at a "Selkhoztekhnika" rayon association in Leningrad Oblast, was asked whether he would like to work in Mongolia, he did not hesitate: It would be an excellent opportunity to test his abilities under new conditions and, in addition to that, help our Mongolian friends! True, he did wonder rather at being offered the post of heating engineer.

A lover of order in all things, Anatoliy asked those who were compiling his travel documents to outline the range of his future responsibilities. He soon knew off by heart how he should conduct himself abroad (even what he should eat and drink), but what he was supposed to do in his capacity as heating engineer remained a mystery.... A report by his predecessor in the post was of no help to him.

With the situation standing like this, Anatoliy arrived in Ulaanbaatar....

"I arrived on New Year's Eve, 30 December," Shumak recalled. "No one was there to meet me. What was I supposed to do? After some difficulty, I was able to phone from the station to the appropriate Mongolian ministry. Fortunately, the telephone was answered by someone who knew something about the allocation of our specialists. They sent me to a hotel. When the time came to pay the bill, they demanded cash. It was then that I discovered to my horror that I did not have enough money. Because, before I left, I was advised to change only a small amount of money. I was forced to...sell the cigarettes I had brought with me, which, as you can imagine, is not recommended. No one told me that it is established practice for a Soviet specialist going to a remote part of Mongolia to order basic foodstuffs and pay for them in advance at the trade delegation in Ulaanbaatar. I did not do this and so my family and I had to get by on flour alone for the first few days in the new place. Thankfully, the leaders of the 'Baydrag' State Farm helped us out with meat and other products."

From my conversations with other specialists of ours working in Mongolia, I learned that "hitches" like these are fairly typical. Meanwhile, a group of Soviet specialists is working at the Mongolian Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry in Ulaanbaatar, and the idea is that the members of this group give detailed instructions to our agrarian specialists before they start work in Mongolia. However, this is most often limited to instructions on rules of conduct, which leave a bitter taste in the mouth. In the best instance, the new specialists are given reports by their predecessors to read. However, instructions setting out responsibilities are prepared for some. But among all the general words like "organize," "ensure," and "strictly monitor" which fill these instructions, the most important thing is, unfortunately, missing—a specific program of action and, what is more, a program that covers a specific period of time. Even the rights of specialists are made to sound rather conditional.

Anatoliy Shumak experienced all this for himself as soon as he arrived at the place where he would be working—the "Baydrag" State Farm. He inspected the farm and was horrified. The boiler room was a particular source of concern. The school and the creche had virtually no heating at all: in some places the "system" was frozen. When he began to look into the matter, he realized that work was being impeded by low-power pumps, narrow pipes, inferior quality coal, and a lack of low-level ventilators.

He was also concerned by the state of the purification units. They were designed in such a way that the drainage holes (not lined with concrete, incidentally) were a mere kilometer away from the well that supplied the state farm with water. Positioning like this is risky, even dangerous. Anatoliy could, of course, "not have noticed" this (as those before him had done for 10 years). However, he was used to working conscientiously.

He began to raise these and other problems with the state farm leadership. At first as if in passing, and later more persistently. However, the looks of dissatisfaction from the leadership immediately told him that the state farm administration had decided that the Soviet specialist was poking his nose in where it did not belong. But when he

rolled back his sleeves and armed himself with a hammer and pliers or rushed along the heating system from place to place, repairing the faults himself, worked in the boiler room, or even went off to try and get spare parts for...harvesting equipment (which certainly was not part of Anatoliy's official duties), the bosses did not look at all embarrassed or displeased.

The question asked in the title of this article could, I am sure, be repeated by many other Soviet specialists in addition to Anatoliy Shumak. Are they needed in Mongolia as highly skilled professionals? And if so, what exactly should their status be in that case?

What must be done to make their assistance more effective? As we can see, a mass of other questions spring from that one question asked by Anatoliy....

Soviet specialists are working in the majority of state farms and agricultural associations in Mongolia. The system which has evolved over many years remains unchanged: cadres are replaced with new ones every 2 or 3 years. Their aim is the most well intentioned—to help the farm in question to achieve its rated capacity. However, it is often the case that while the Soviet specialist is working there, the state farm changes its specialization (even more than once), but the people continue working there as if everything were still the same.

Or take this, for example. At first, the Mongolian side mainly invited leading specialists in the sector—agronomists, livestock experts, and so forth—to work on a contract basis in agriculture. Then they needed competent economists and accountants. And in recent years, the demand for engineers in labor-intensive processes, electricians, heating engineers, and sanitary engineers has noticeably increased.

Now that the republic has taken the course of intensifying its economy, technical and engineering support for agriculture plays an extremely important role. But, in that case, should we not be doing the opposite—reducing rather than increasing the number of leading Soviet specialists and consultants? After all, the majority of Mongolian farms' own agronomists, livestock experts, and even breeders have developed and gained experience, and hardly need so many colleagues to understudy them now.

However, you still hear some of our specialists complain that th ir charges do not have enough experience. I would not venture to judge them en masse, but this is quite often done with one aim in mind—to extend their contract. After all, the wages of a Soviet specialist in Mongolia are vastly superior to his wages in the Soviet Union....

Is it possible to combat this kind of attitude? It is. To do this, according to specialists, it would be enough to change the system of labor incentives for consultants, paying them for a certain amount of work done and taking the quality of this work into account rather than the length of their working visit. If an excellent assessment is given—by a competent Soviet-Mongolian commission—the wages of some specialists could be increased by 25 or even 50 percent. Or the reverse could happen: Their wages could be cut.

In other words, a thoughtful attitude must be taken to sending Soviet specialists to Mongolia to work in agriculture. The present system, to put it mildly, leaves much to be desired. It does happen that people far removed from agricultural problems are still being sent to Mongolia from the center without cadre issues being coordinated with either the apparatus of the body responsible, the USSR Gosagroprom, or the group of Soviet specialists working in the Mongolian Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry. This "boondocks trial" invariably shows that this kind of "specialist" contributes nothing other than turmoil to the work of the farm in question.

As far as skilled cadres such as Anatoliy Shumak are concerned, they need special attention. However, it is most often the case that they are left to the mercy of fate. Neither the group of Soviet specialists working in the Mongolian Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry, or the apparatus of the competent authority, the USSR Gosagroprom, pays enough attention to their living conditions. These two organizations (which, incidentally, deal with virtually the same issues) have long been secret rivals; they often remind one of the two goats in the fairytale who meet on a narrow bridge and are quite incapable of getting past each other.

The spheres of their activity will have to be demarcated. The interests of the cause demand this first and foremost.

In Place of an Epilogue

Presumably the recent decision by the Soviet-Mongolian Intergovernmental Commission on Economic and Scientific and Technical Cooperation was prompted by these same interests. Under the bilateral agreement, from 1 January next year all apparatuses of the competent Soviet ministries and departments in Mongolia will be abolished.

One would have thought that order would now begin to emerge.... However, the partners immediately introduced a proviso which...gives Soviet ministries and departments the right to have their own representatives or representative bodies in Mongolia, as long as this is agreed with their Mongolian colleagues. Will this half-hearted decision not just lead to a change of nameplate?

And another thing. The number of Soviet specialists working directly in enterprises and organizations in Mongolia will gradually be reduced. This is an irreversible process. However, the demand for advisers, particularly in agriculture, which is going through a difficult period, will evidently remain for some time yet. This means that their status must be discussed in detail. Who can have the main claim to the role of adviser? What are their legal rights? These and many other problems must, in my view, be the subject of detailed discussion at the next session of the Intergovernmental Commission, and be definitely taken into account when contracts are being signed.

Then, I believe, Anatoliy Shumak's question "Who needs me?" will automatically fade away.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Shevardnadze Continues Philippines Visit

Makes Arrival Remarks in Manila

LD2112121588 Moscow TASS in English 1202 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Manila December 21 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze arrived here on Wednesday for a brief working visit. At Manila airport he was met by his Philippine counterpart Raul Manglapus and other officials.

Among the welcoming party were Oleg Sokolov, the Soviet ambassador to the Philippines, and Alejandro Melchor, the Philippines ambassador to the USSR.

Upon his arrival Eduard Shevardnadze made the following statement:

"In these first minutes of our stay in your country I would like to thank the Government of the Republic of the Philippines in the person of Mr. Manglapus, minister of foreign affairs, for the invitation to visit your country"

"This visit is the first by a minister of foreign affairs of the Soviet Union in the history of Soviet-Philippine relations, and this, I believe, means a lot. Hopefully this visit will build on the new currents that have recently appeared in our relations".

"Understandable therefore is the immense interest with which we are looking forward to a scheduled meeting with the Republic's President Mrs. Corazon Aquino and to talks with Mr. Manglapus. We have something to tell one another about prospects for bilateral relations, the state of affairs in the Asia-Pacific region, and the present international situation."

"To a dweller of northern latitudes, your land is a fairy-tale exotic paradise. But in the minds of Soviet people there are no such simplistic stereotypes, for they know well the Philippine people's history of long and hard struggle for independence, and their present-day life and striving for a better future. Soviet people honour the Philippine people's unique culture the achievements of which they came to learn from folklore and from works by remarkable Philippine writers, in particular Jose Rizal whose works have been published in our country more often than anywhere else ouside the Philippines".

"This also gives me ground to say that our political dialogue accords with the cultural guidelines of the Soviet people and their sentiments of respect and sympathies for the Filipinos."

"On the occsion of the approaching Christmas and New-Year holidays I ask you to convey to them our wishes of peace, happiness and well-being."

Attends Manglapus-Hosted Reception

LD2112140388 Moscow TASS in English 1345 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Manila December 21 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, currently on a short working visit here, laid a wreath today at the monument to the national hero of the Philippines Jose Rizal.

The Mayor of Greater Manila Gemillano Lopez presented at the Soviet Embassy a symbolic key of the city to the high Soviet guest.

In the evening of the same day Raul Manglapus, the foreign minister of the Philippines, gave a reception in honour of Eduard Shevardnadze. The function which passed in a friendly atmosphere was attended by members of the Government of the Philippines, leaders of the congress, many representatives of local business quarters and public circles.

Commentary on SRV Plan for Direct PRC Talks

OW1812140788 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Alekseyev commentary from "The World Today" program]

[Text] Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach has stated at a National Assembly session that Vietnam is ready for direct dialogue with the PRC on bilateral relations. Our station observer Alekseyev has the following commentary on this:

The Vietnamese foreign minister's statement exemplifies the SRV's consistent stand. On many occasions Hanoi has indicated its readiness to hold direct dialogue with China on any dispute and without any preconditions. It is not necessary now to discover the causes that

have hindered a direct dialogue between the two countries in the past. I only wish to point out one thing—Namely, that the serious confrontation with regard to the Cambodian situation at that time was not conducive to such a direct dialogue.

The situation since then has changed. Phnom Penh's proposal last year for national reconciliation, a proposal which has been supported by Vietnam, has led to dialogue with various factions of the Khmer Rouge. This is a fact. For example, an unofficial meeting was held in (?Jakarta) last July in which all parties of the Khmer Rouge, as well as the Indochinese countries and members of ASEAN, participated. The meeting (?was aimed at) resolving the Cambodian question by stages. The participants in this meeting agreed on such important issues as the SRV troop withdrawal and the efforts being made to guarantee that the Khmer Rouge will not be allowed to restore its system in Cambodia. Moreover, China has endorsed the outcome of the first meeting attended by Vietnam, the other countries concerned, and all the factions of the Khmer Rouge, and has called for continuing such a dialogue.

Needless to say, the fact that Vietnam and China have indeed agreed to a major aspect of the Cambodian issue has created the favorable conditions for constructive dialogue between the two countries. There is no doubt that Vietnam is pulling out its troops from Cambodia. On 15 December, Vietnam began the last phase of its troop withdrawal for this year, a phase scheduled to be completed on 21 December. In the first quarter of 1990, all Vietnamese troops will be withdrawn from Cambodia. Indeed, differences still exist between China and Vietnam, including the Cambodian question. Therefore, the holding of talks seeks to find ways and means to resolve such differences. The Soviet Union is convinced that a positive dialogue between Vietnam and China can shorten the process of resolving the Cambodian issue, as well as help to normalize the situation in Southeast Asia and the Asia-Pacific region.

Near East & South Asia

Talks With Afghan Opposition Postponed

LD2212074788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] AFP reports from Islamabad that the second round of direct talks between Soviet representatives and the Afghan opposition has been postponed for several days. It was expected that contacts would be resumed this week. The talks will probably begin on Sunday [25 December]. According to the AFP correspondent, the reason for the delay is that the leaders of the opposition wish to make an addition to the agenda.

PRAVDA on Problems of Afghan Withdrawal

PM1512151088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Dec 88 Second Edition p 6

[Own correspondent V. Okulov report: "The Last December: Reflections as the Afghan Winter Approaches"]

[Text] Kabul, December—Let me say at once to possible opponents, in case they should wish to accuse me of wanting to exaggerate the situation: The last month before the withdrawal (under the Geneva accords) of the Soviet troops that are still in Afghanistan is a battle—the last battle against those who still entertain hopes of a military solution to the Afghan problem. This battle is not only waged on the battlefields. The Soviet Union is doing everything possible to bring peace to this land as soon as possible. This is confirmed by the recent proposals to the United Nations, which provide, in particular, for a total cease-fire everywhere from 1 January 1989.

Winter has spread its wings over Afghanistan. And although the snows have only etched out in white the peaks of the nearby moutnains, and formed a covering on the distant passes, the cold is rolling toward the soldiers by night.

"They have brought firewood along the route from the USSR to the posts and outposts —we are saving it for the end of December," battalion political deputy Major Mikhail Novikov told me. "The Motherland is warming us with its own heat. We thank the Chelyabinsk Komsomol members—they sent gifts to the reconnaissance battalion: candies, sneakers, electric razors, guitars, books. As well as writing paper and envelopes—write letters home, they say. Nearly all the men have no time to write, frankly, while in combat. But their mothers send news from home. Some say: We are coming to Termez, we will meet you, our boys, at the bridge...."

Soldiers are already arranging meetings "at six in the evening after the war." Some people, the scouts told me, have arranged a general gathering in Kiev after their discharge into the reserves. Others, after completing their service, plan to visit their commanding officer—Senior Lieutenant Viktor Maydanyuk: He is held in high respect.

The implementation of all these plans is a matter for the very near future. But now life has other tasks. Both the soldiers and the officers with whom I talked are aware that the last battle is the hardest. Servicemen of all ranks and titles are concerned first and foremost with purely combat matters: protection of roads and communications, passage of columns, the struggle against caravans bringing weapons from Pakistan for the "irreconcilables"....

The word "withdrawal" is seldom uttered, though it is kept in mind—circumstances do not allow any relaxation; they make it necessary to concentrate on resolving

tasks that are only incidental to withdrawal. But it is constantly present as a desirable concept, the ultimate aim. And there are clear signs that within the grouping of our troops in Afghanistan—a grouping that has been reduced by half but is still mighty—alongside combat work, preparations are under way for our side to complete its fulfillment of its important commitment under the Geneva accords.

"We are summing up the results for the various services and material accounts...."

"We are checking means of communication...."

"We are packing the exhibits in the unit's museum ready for dispatch...."

"We are replacing useless equipment: The caterpillar tracks wear out on the stony ground here, we are fitting new ones...."

As you know, it is not only caterpillar tracks that wear out—the last months of combat service in Afghanistan demand patience, courage, and a keen sense of duty from our officers and men. And they are not short of these qualities. Experienced driver-mechanics and soldiers with other specialities who are due for discharge into the reserve are already "outserving" their time under the fall draft: If they were replaced by unseasoned tyros, losses would increase.

In the region of Bagram, I saw an airfield services battalion operating on the basis of (it is terrible even to hear such a thing)...peacetime manning levels. Yet the real load on the airfield is twice, four times as much. The soldiers of the airfield guard company live at their posts, digging into the ground for weeks on end and only occasionally appearing "from their holes," as they say here: to wash and draw breath. What kind of combat work is that, you may wonder? Yet there are losses from shellings by dushman rockets. And about 60 men in the battalion have been awarded or recommended for orders and medals.

The press has already reported the partial replacement of Soviet subunits. In Bagram, in the familiar accommodation modules, I saw some airmen who arrived in Afghanistan comparatively recently. The young airmen are rapidly drawn into the combat atmosphere.

"Our main tasks," political worker Lieutenant Colonel Ye. Baranetskiy explained, "are to prevent the rocket shelling of Kabul, carry out strikes against the rebels' rocket launcher positions, destroy weapon caravans, provide air support for units of the Afghan Armed Forces...."

Some have already distinguished themselves. Major Aleksandr Ivankov and his wingman Captain Viktor Zubkov have been recommended by their commanding officer for the Order of the Red Banner.

"Do you remember," Baranetskiy asks, "the shelling of Kabul airport, when a rocket shell hit the module where the airmen were gathered? Shells were exploding on the runway, but our Kabul duty 'pair'—Ivankov and Zubkov—took off and found and destroyed the point from where the rockets were being launched. They hit the target accurately: Rocket shells that had been made ready for continued firing began to explode on the ground...."

I listen to the lieutenant colonel's story of how Senior Lieutenant Sergey Kazimirchak made a strike against a dushman rocket position from high altitude in his assault aircraft—his "rook." Our own subunits were only 1,800 meters away. According to instructions, he should not have fired—the distance was dangerously small. They radioed from the ground: "Hit them, friend, we can take it!" Kazimirchak took his decision and struck, sniper-fashion.

In the morning, when we were at the "rooks'" command center, a report came in. Sergey had just handled a similar task excellently again.

Assault planes leaving for their target roar over the runway. We know that Sr Lt Igor Sokolov is flying one of the machines.

"A splendid pilot," Lt Col Baranetskiy said, watching them depart into the skies. "He was the first to be ready to carry out combat missions after arriving in Afghanistan."

"Airmen and artillerymen are now playing the main part in the struggle against the 'irreconcilable' gangs that seek to exacerbate the situation," I was told by B. Gromov, Hero of the Soviet Union and lieutenant general, commander of the limited contingent of Soviet troops. "We are carrying out bombing raids. To prevent rocket shelling of Kabul, we are carrying out ground forces operations around the city. We have strengthened the defenses of the Kabul-Hayraton route, especially in the region of the Salang pass. We are accompanying Afghan columns.

"A special task is to help the republic to ship economic freight from the border port of Hayraton and from Towraghondi station—large stockpiles of flour, fats, wheat, and fuel delivered from the USSR have accumulated there. Yet in Kabul there are interruptions to supplies. Special large-capacity columns have had to be set up."

[Okulov] "How are our troops preparing for the final withdrawal to the Motherland?"

[Gromov] "Machinery and men are being prepared for the march, and our posts and camps for handing over to the Afghan side. Property of ours worth R640 million will be placed at its disposal...."

So what are the feelings, thoughts, and mood of our soldiers and commanding officers in these last weeks in this country? I saw for myself that while fighting, inside they are living for the withdrawal, and their innermost thoughts are of home. And this is how we assess the tactics employed by the Soviet command to rebuff the extremists in the months since the beginning of implementation of the Geneva agreements: Everything possible is being done to safeguard people.

When you talk to commanding officers of various ranks here, you often think: How great is your responsibility to the soldiers, and to their mothers and fathers impatiently awaiting their sons' return! But war is war. The tragic casualty figures that were reported to Soviet people in May cannot but grow, and are growing....

So in these difficult days our guys need the Motherland's warmth, love, and concern more than ever. So it seems rather strange when, to replace combat vehicles, wheeled and tracked, that are out of order, they send equipment from the Soviet Union—for the last march—that is far from new.

What else worries my interviewees?

The future, after their return to the Motherland, worries them. The officers know that for many of the "Afghaners" who have gone through the flames, later life can sometimes be difficult. These are paradoxes that a civilian is incapable of understanding. Are they not our army's golden assets—commanding officers who know what combat is, and not from maneuvers? Should not these officers, who have served honorably under fire and have experience of real combat operations, be given the "green light" in the troops?

You are breaking down an open door, my opponents will say. On the contrary! The none too happy fates of many returning veteran "Afghaners" indicate otherwise.

While taking part in combat here "at first hand," internationalist servicemen like airman Kazimirchak have repeatedly violated instructions generated in the quiet of the offices. Scouts who go into battle in camouflage smocks and sneakers—the most suitable outfit for the heat here and the dusty plateaus—are violating "regulation" uniform. And there are commanding officers who have only just arrived from the Soviet Union who, in the name of instructions learned by heart in peacetime, are capable of being disrespectful toward the holder of a soldier's medal "For Valor"!

The "Afghaners" are worried about their lack of information about the privileges they have earned here by way of honor. Why not give everyone the full text of the government resolutions on this score?

People are worried about how it will all turn out when, at the end of the Afghan epic, they are all dispersed around the cities and villages of their native land. "They'll start blaming us then," we heard one young soldier say. But a close contemporary of his—a lieutenant—put it like this:

"Some people apparently want us, too, to have our lost generation. But we think differently. We did our duty honorably, and we have nothing to be ashamed of...."

I would like to tell those for whom our soldiers' operations in Afghanistan are even now all but a "closed" topic and who, studying under a microscope the reports about them, carry out a kind of petty bookkeeping—this was OK, that was wrong—and to tell those who feel a certain shame, a certain sense of inferiority at the word "Afghanistan," those who indifferently try to refuse the 20-year-old "Afghaners" the right to social recognition and a sense of price—to tell them: You are the ones with the inferiority complex. The "Afghaners" are doing their duty with honor, they are worthy of the most profound respect....

It is a source of infinite joy that the winter that has already spread its wings over Afghanistan is, for our sons here, the last.

Yakovlev Discusses Talks With U.S. on Mideast

PM1612162488 London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 16 Dec 88 pp 37-38

[Report on interview with Aleksandr Yakovlev, chairman of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, by Raghidah Dirgham in New York; date not given]

[Text] AL-HAWADITH has had a brief interview with Yakovlev on the latest developments concerning to Afghanistan and the Middle East question in U.S.-Soviet talks.

Yakovlev said that during the meetings with the U.S. side, "we told them exactly what was said in the UN General Assembly speech—namely, that the PLO has taken an extremely important step, and that now it is only logical that we should expect Israel to respond to the PLO's step. Yasir 'Arafat has actually accepted Israel's existence, which is very important. Logically, Israel should therefore think about taking a step of some kind."

AL-HAWADITH: What did the Americans say to this?

Yakovlev: They said that they are thinking about it.

AL-HAWADITH: Have the Soviets made any particular proposals to Israel or the United States that may lead to a step in harmony with what you are thinking?

Yakovlev: No, we said what we said to them. Let us wait and see what they think. What is important is that all of our proposals are geared toward holding an international conference. We believe that there is no alternative to such a conference. [Yakovlev ends]

Yakovlev referred to the previous U.S. view that the United States could solve the Middle East problem without the Soviet Union. He said that the United States now realizes that this is impossible, which is why it has put this aside and accepted the idea of an international conference with Soviet participation. Yakovlev gave the impression that "something" is going to happen concerning the Middle East and the Palestinian question. He declined to set a time limit for this to take place, although he implied that it would be in the not too distant future. "We are very patient," he said.

As for the role played by Saudi Arabia in hosting the direct talks held in Al-Ta'if that brought together Soviet officials and Afghan mujahidin leaders for the first time, Yakovlev said: "The Saudis expressed to us their desire and intention to play a role similar to that of a mediator between us and Burhanuddin Rabbani"—the representative of the alliance of seven Afghan mujahidin parties—"and they suggested hosting" the meeting between Rabbani and Yuliy Vorontsov, Soviet deputy foreign minister and ambassador to Kabul.

AL-HAWADITH: What was the result of that meeting, which in the beginning was shrouded in secrecy?

Yakovlev: Something was achieved. The fact that negotiations have been held between us and the warring factions is a real achievement. We are now ready to negotiate with any side. The situation in Afghanistan is an extremely complex one—for us and for everyone else. For our part, we are willing to honor all our commitments but we are against whoever totally rejects the Kabul administration. We believe it is necessary to form a coalition that combines everyone, including the warring parties. [Yakovlev ends]

Yakovlev stressed that there are numerous and varied groups. As for the meeting with Rabbani, he said "Rabbani is Rabbani, and the others are not Rabbani." He left the door open to the views and positions of others.

On the results of the Al-Ta'if talks, Yakovlev stated that some of these results were "partially" reflected in the proposals made by Mikhail Gorbachev in his UNGA speech. "The full results must now be submitted to Najibullah (the present Afghan president) because we cannot ignore his reaction."

AL-HAWADITH: Will Saudi Arabia continue to play a part in this matter?

Yakovlev: I do not know, but continued Saudi interest was mirrored in Prince Bandar's [Saudi ambassador to Washington Bandar ibn Sultan] interest in meeting with me in New York.

AL-HAWADITH: How likely is it that the Saudi role will figure in the question of diplomatic relations between Moscow and Riyadh?

Yakovlev: Both sides are willing to establish normal diplomatic relations. For our part, we are ready to establish relations immediately. What the Saudis are saying is that they too are willing to do this, but so far something is preventing them from taking practical steps toward that goal. I do not know what the reason is; I do not know whether there is a particular reason. Perhaps the reason is their stand on communism.

Petrovskiy on 'Arafat Initiative, Mideast

JN1712192588 Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 15 Dec 88 p 22

[Interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy by Najib Furayji in Geneva; date not given]

[Text] [Furayji] What is the USSR's reaction to Yasir 'Arafat's address to the UN General Assembly?

[Petrovskiy] I believe it was a very important speech. The initiative presented by Palestinian leader Yasir 'Arafat, which was the most important thing in his speech, constitutes the only opportunity that will lead to a reasonable solution in the Middle East. In other words, this initiative by Yasir 'Arafat, including its three points, can now place the international peace conference on a practical footing and initiate a solution to the Middle East conflict. In addition to his thanks and appreciation to the USSR, and as a prelude to the international conference, Yasir 'Arafat referred to the initiative of Mikhail Gorbachev and Francois Mitterrand concerning the preparatory committee of the international conference.

[Furayji] What is the USSR's response to 'Arafat's proposal?

[Petrovskiy] I believe it is a very good idea. I also believe that the time is now more ripe than at any time in the past to move from words to tangible action. The preparatory committee will mean the beginning of talks within the peace process and will indicate that the international conference has actually begun its work. We in the USSR support this trend and prefer it to any other proposal.

[Furayji] As observers, we expected the Middle East crisis to top the agenda of the recent meeting in New York between Presidents Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan. However, nothing has happened concerning this matter. Why?

[Petrovskiy] The reason for this is that this meeting did not include official talks, and it was confined to unofficial talks. I repeat that the New York meeting did not witness any other official talks.

[Furayji] Do you believe that this issue will be discussed between the two leaders in the future despite the fact that Reagan's term in office is about to end?

[Petrovskiy] For your information, I say that the Middle East issue occupies a very important position in the Soviet-U.S. talks, and that we will not miss the opportunity to remind our U.S. colleagues that the Middle East has a pressing need for a peaceful solution in the near future.

[Furayji] Practically speaking, when do you expect the two superpowers to sit around a negotiating table to discuss the Middle East file and agree on means to reach solutions?

[Petrovskiy] As for us in the USSR, we are ready to begin a discussion of this file today or tomorrow. We are also ready to begin arrangements for the preparatory committee, even if this takes place tomorrow, if the others express the same readiness.

[Furayji] How do you view the incoming Bush administration's stand toward the Middle East? Do you think that there would be a disparity between Bush and former [as published] U.S. President Ronald Reagan?

[Petrovskiy] It is still premature to predict the Bush administration's stand, especially because it has not assumed its powers yet because and the current administration is still in power.

[Furayji] But there have been some signs to date. Are these signs inadequate to allow you to you predict the future?

[Petrovskiy] I believe that Reagan is still the President.

Diplomatic Figure on Soviet Mideast Role

LD1912111788 Kuwait KUNA in English 0935 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] Kuwait, Dec 19 (KUNA)—The world is now waiting for an answer from Israel on the Palestinian peace initiative announced by PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat during his speech at the U.N. General Assembly in Geneva last week, head of the Soviet Diplomatic Academy of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Oleg Deresyebken said Monday.

In an interview with KUWAIT NEWS AGENCY, the Soviet official said the ball is now in Israel's court after the PLO has recognized Israel's right to exist and the U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338.

He expressed belief that there is a possibility of pressuring Israel, particularly by the U.S., following the dialogue between the PLO and Washington that has just begun and the expected visit to the U.S. by PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat next spring.

Deresyebken said the recent developments in the region have opened new prospects for the Palestinian cause and the Palestinians and the Arabs should benefit from that chance and move forward and keep away from stagnation.

The Soviet official expressed deep thanks of the Soviet Union for the relief aid sent by Kuwait to the victims of the recent earthquake in Armenia.

He added that before leaving Moscow to Kuwait, he met with Kuwait's ambassador there 'Abd al-Muhsin al-Du'ayj who was receiving the first Kuwait plane carrying relief assistance to the Soviet Union.

During his visit, the head of the Soviet diplomatic academy said he met with a number of ranking officials, including the Advisor at the Amiri Diwan [state council] 'Abd al-'Aziz Husayn, President of Chamber of Commerce and Industry 'Abd al-'Aziz Hamad al-Saqir and Foreign Undersecretary Sulayman Majid al-Shahin.

Talks with those officials, Deresyebken said dealt with the mission of the delegation of the Soviet society for backing the U.N. activities which is currently visiting a number of countries of the region.

On the Soviet efforts to support the Palestinian cause, the official said his country is on constant dialogue with the Palestinian friends and that he himself had met with 'Arafat when the latter visited the Soviet Union and delivered a speech at the academy, adding that he also met him when he was Soviet ambassador to North Yemen.

He emphasized that Moscow will continue coordination with the Palestinians and will spare no effort toward realizing security and peace in the region and restoring the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

Speaking about the recent unrest between Armenia and Azerbaijan, the Soviet official said that this was due to "artificial" factors incited by the corruption of certain leaders for fears of being tried for corruption and chaos.

He further said that his visit to Kuwait as member of the delegation headed by Sergey Grepkov, is part of a tour that will also take them to the United Arab Emirates and Oman.

The Soviet official emphasized the positive and effective role the U.N. is undertaking at present time and said the international organization is taking part in settling problems such as the Iran-Iraq war and the Arab-Israeli conflict and the crises in Afghanistan, Lebanon and Cyprus.

He said however that his country wants the U.N. to undertake a bigger role in the Middle East crisis.

Speaking again about the Palestinian peace initiative, the Soviet official said that the proposal by the PLO chairman to place the occupied territories under U.N. supervision is a clear evidence on the role that the U.N. can play.

He added that the Soviet Union believes that the international conference on peace in the Middle East and placing the occupied territories under temporary U.N. supervision is a positive initiative that helps resolve the crisis of the Palestinian people.

Light at 'End of the Tunnel' Seen on Palestine

PM1912141988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Dec 88 Second Edition pp 1, 5

[Special correspondent V. Bolshakov "Comment": "In the Name of 'Palestine'"]

[Excerpt] Geneva, 16 Dec—[passage omitted] Y. 'Arafat took the floor at the the Palais des Nations 13 December. This was his second speech to the United Nations. The first was in 1974, when he did so with an olive branch in his hand. Israel rejected that symbol of peace and declared a fight to the death against the Palestinians. Now, 14 years later, that legendary figure in the semimilitary uniform and the invariable Palestinian kufiyah [headdress] again stood before the General Assembly. "We are holding out this olive branch again," he said, "because it comes from our hearts, from the tree of our motherland, the tree of freedom." The Israeli delegation's seats were empty. But the PLO leader said: "I appeal from here to the Israeli people, to all their groupings and parties, but particularly to those who advocate peace and democracy. I say to them: Come, let us make peace."

The speech was extremely emotional and impressive, but at the same time specific. 'Arafat assured the international community that a future Palestinian state will be prepared to cooperate with Israel in conditions of peace and security, and he condemned terrorism in all its forms and manifestations.

'Arafat's speech at the Geneva Palais des Nations and his news conference have caused a split in Israel itself and in influential Jewish organizations in other countries. I. Shamir's categorical "no" and the refusal—the very next day after 'Arafat's Geneva speech—by the right-wing Zionist parties currently ruling in Israel to attend any talks with the PLO were not this time automatically echoed among the other Zionist parties.

Nor did the United States give Tel Aviv its automatic support this time, although they did vote together against all resolutions under item 37 [of the UN General Assembly session agenda]. What is the essence of the U.S. stance? The United States did not oppose in principle the convening of an international conference on a Near East settlement, but it did oppose those tasks which the General Assembly has now set itself. The speech by V. Walters, the U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations, expressed the idea that the goal of such a conference is merely to help organize "direct talks" between the Arab countries and "moderate Palestinians" and Israel. In the course of these talks about talks, the United States proposes that it be resolved which occupied territories Israel should leave and on which it should remain. Similarly, the Palestinians' legitimate rights, which are recognized by the entire international community, would be a bargaining counter in the "direct talks" with those who took away the Palestinians' right to statehood as envisaged by a General Assembly resolution back in 1974.

The combination of a large number of factors—the Palestinians' adoption of a "peace strategy," which they declared for all to hear in Algiers and Geneva, the "intifadah" on the occupied territories, the PLO leadership's condemnation of terrorism, the discrediting of the "policy of strength" in the solution of regional conflicts, and the consistent support for the Palestinians' struggle by the Soviet Union and other countries—has enabled the international community to make decisions which more than ever before open the way to a settlement of the 20th century's most protracted conflict. Quite a lot more will have to be done to achieve this, of course. But there is light at the end of the tunnel, which in itself is an indication of the affirmation in international politics of unorthodox approaches to the new thinking. Let us hope that the time is not far off when a new Arab state bearing the name "Palestine" appears on the international political map.

'Lies' Concerning Soviet Mideast Policy Refuted

LD1612122188 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 15 Dec 88

[Anatoliy Klimov commentary: "The Lies of Others"]

[Text] Statements have been made in some Arab countries defaming the USSR's Middle East policy. These statements allege that the Soviet Union is guided by its international interests, is colluding with the United States and Israel, and is getting ready to make concessions behind the backs of the Arabs concerning a Middle East settlement.

Such statements are bewildering to say the least. This is because the Soviet Union's stand is better known in Arab countries than anywhere else. They also know that this stand has not changed for several years. Are there any signs that our stand concerning the settlement issue has changed, and that it is now adverse to the interests of the Arab nations?

Naturally, no such signs exist, nor can they exist. There is another matter: The Soviet Union is trying immediately to begin practical measures, to start the machinery for arriving at a settlement of the conflict. The Soviet Union does not consider the machinery for this settlement to lie in the piecemeal secret deals that the United States and Israel have been trying to implement to drag the Arabs to the table. Indeed, it lies in honest collective efforts within the framework of the international conference on the Middle East with the participation of the five permanent Security Council members and all the sides concerned, including the PLO, the legitimate and sole representative of the Palestine people.

The Soviet Union has always and without fail objected to any separate deals; the ominous experience of Camp David has shown that such deals create nothing except the illusion of progress toward peace. Separate deals make finding a general solution to the conflict more difficult, and they allow the invaders to maneuver and reap the fruits of their aggression by playing the interests of some Arab countries against the interests of others. Therefore, the Soviet Union has shown unwavering support for the struggle of the Arab countries against separate deals under the auspices of the United States.

The allegations being heard today say that the Soviet Union has deviated from the essential principles that apply to a Middle East settlement. We recall here that the Soviet Union proceeds from the following essential and pressing principles:

Israeli forces must withdraw from all Arab areas occupied in 1967; an independent Palestinian state must be established; and the right of all states and peoples in this area to live within secure and recognized borders must be guaranteed.

These are the principles that guide the Soviet Union in its efforts to establish peace in the Middle East. It is natural that Soviet diplomatic activity, which has been trying to implement these priciples, is not to the liking of some circles in Tel Aviv and Washington. This is why they have continued to hatch intrigues aimed at preventing the start of an effective settlement. Included among such machinations is the circulation of lies about Soviet policy. It is very regrettable that some Arab countries believed these lies, which tried to drive a wedge between the Arabs and their sincere and loyal friend who has passed the test of time, and trusted these false allegations, which have no basis in fact.

Mubarak Speaks at USSR's Cairo Embassy

PM1612093788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent D. Velikiy dispatch: "We Are Linked by Long-Established Friendship. H. Mubarak's Speech at the USSR Embassy in Egypt"]

[Text] Cairo—President Husni Mubarak of the Arab Republic of Egypt visited the USSR Embassy in Egypt in order to express on the Egyptian people's behalf feelings of profound sympathy in connection with the tragedy that has befallen the Soviet people. After the president signed the book of condolences, he replied to questions by Soviet and Egyptian journalists.

H. Mubarak said that every Egyptian, upon hearing about the disaster in the Soviet Union, was profoundly saddened, primarily because this calamity has befallen the Soviet people who are linked with the Egyptians by long-established friendship and close cooperation.

The USSR has always stood by us in our times of difficulty, H. Mubarak declared. This cannot be forgotten. Thus, the profound feeling of sorrow shared by Egypt's citizens.

I would ask that profound condolences be conveyed to the whole friendly Soviet people on all Egyptians' behalf. I express the hope that the Soviet people will overcome these trials and will continue their creative labor for their country's benefit. Egypt is prepared to render assistance to the Soviet Union and can immediately send a group of physicians to aid the earthquake victims.

The Egyptian president went on to give his impressions of M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the UN General Assembly session.

This is a very constructive speech, and it marks a significant step forward in international relations. It would be natural for the United States to respond positively to it. Peace has become the paramount goal for mankind on a planet torn apart by complex problems.

The question of indebtedness, which is an acute worry for all developing countries, was one of the crucial problems raised in M.S. Gorbachev's speech, H. Mubarak stressed. The Soviet proposal inspires confidence and optimism, as well as hope that it will be supported throughout the world.

Gulf Cooperation Council Conference Noted

PM2112141588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Dispatch by special correspondent V. Shevchenko: "Persian Gulf: Summit Conference"]

[Text] Manama—The safeguarding of peace and security in the Persian Gulf, the Palestinian problem, the Lebanese crisis, and economic cooperation—these and other

questions are being discussed at the ninth summit conference of the countries belonging to the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC], which includes Bahrain, Qatar, Kuwait, Oman, the United Arab Emirates, and Saudi Arabia. This conference has opened in Manama, the capital of Bahrain.

Our meeting is taking place under new conditions, against the background of the ending of the Iran-Iraq conflict. But to ensure stability in the Persian Gulf region it is essential to achieve definitive peace accords between Iran and Iraq and to create reliable guarantees of security in the region, GCC Secretary General 'Abdallah Ya'qub Bisharah stressed in a meeting with journalists. We are in favor of establishing good-neighborly relations with all countries, including Iran, and asserting a climate of trust and mutual understanding.

"The lessons of the 8-year-long Iran-Iraq conflict attest to the fact that you cannot resolve a dispute by use of force. Any regional conflict can lead to serious international complications," Bahraini Minister of Information Tariq 'Abd al-Rahman al-Mu'ayyad stressed in a talk with your correspondent. "We assess positively the USSR's efforts to end the Iran-Iraq war. Events in the Persian Gulf have shown that the great powers can, by their joint efforts, promote the settlement of regional conflicts, using the political potential and prestige of the United Nations. We wish to cooperate with the USSR in resolving various problems of mutual interest. As a GCC member, Bahrain advocates the establishment of broad international ties, including with your country."

The Palestinian problem occupies a special place in the work of the conference. Those taking part in the Manama meeting have expressed solidarity with the struggle of the Arab Palestinian people against the Israeli occupation, and they have come out in support of an independent Palestinian state.

Joint YAR Cooperation Commission Meets

LD1912151188 Moscow TASS in English 1434 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 19 TASS—Expansion and deepening of business relations between the Soviet Union and the Yemen Arab Republic (YAR) is the main subject discussed by the bilateral intergovernmental commission for economic and technological cooperation and trade, which met here today. The Soviet delegation is lead at the negotiations by Vladimir Mordvinov, deputy minister for foreign economic relations, and the YAR delegation—by Muhammad Sa'id al-'Attar, deputy prime-minister and minister of development.

During the commission's previous meeting, held a year ago in Sanaa, the sides discussed prospects for the development of cooperation in joint economic ventures, namely in the Yemen oil and gas industry, power engineering, transport construction. Concrete steps have already been made in these areas since the last meeting—geological surveys and exploration are being carried out.

Put up in the Yemen Arab Republic through the joint efforts of the two countries during the years of bilateral cooperation were several building materials factories, including a cement mill at Bajilah. The port of Al-Hudaydah has been enlarged and its cargo turn-over increased. A promising state-run "Sardud" agricultural enterprise has been set up.

The current meeting of the intergovernmental commission is expected to consider several new bilateral cooperation projects in different sectors of Yemeni economy.

Pakistani President on Foreign, Domestic Policy

PM1912135188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Dec 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Speech by Pakistani President"]

[Text] Islamabad, 15 Dec—Pakistani President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, who has just been elected to that post, delivered a speech to a joint session of the two chambers of parliament on Wednesday [14 December] in which he set forth the basic thrust of the foreign and domestic policy of the country's present leadership.

Dwelling on the situation surrounding Afghanistan, the president stated: "We consider the Geneva accords to be historic documents which have opened the door to a complete solution of the problem. We believe that a definitive settlement of the Afghan question is extremely necessary for the return with honor of the refugees. This can occur only if the accords are met in full and a government is formed in Afghanistan which is acceptable to all sections of Afghan society and the people as a whole. The formation of such a government without outside pressure is the business of the Afghan people themselves. The Afghan question can only be resolved politically and not by force; all interested parties should therefore continue promoting the peaceful settlement of the problem."

At the same time, Ghulam Ishaq Khan stated that Pakistan will continue assisting the Afghan opposition until a settlement is reached.

The president noted that Pakistan will be making efforts to establish friendly relations and to develop bilateral cooperation with the Soviet Union in the economic and other spheres.

"Our ties with China are an example of bilateral relations," Ghulam Ishaq Khan pointed out.

The president spoke in favor of achieving peaceful, good-neighborly relations with India based on "freedom, equal independence, respect for geographical integrity, noninterference, and the nonuse of force to enable the peaceful, just solution of all problems, including that of Kashmir, to be found."

Gorbachev Greetings in Indian Magazine Reported
PM1612110788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "On the Results of the Visit"]

[Text] Delhi, 14 Dec—The December issue of the magazine SOVIET LAND, which is devoted to the results of the official friendly visit to India by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, was published today at a ceremony in the Soviet Science, Culture, and Art Center in the Indian capital.

A greetings message from the Soviet leader to the Indian people published in the journal says:

Esteemed Indian friends!

There are events in the life of the peoples which determine their spiritual and intellectual potential for a long time. There is every justification for including among those events the Soviet-Indian festivals, which are unprecedented in the history of relations between peoples. Now that the final chord of the USSR festival in India has died away, one gets a particularly strong and deep feeling that it is truly a festival that is ever with us, because it has enriched our peoples' culture, enabled them to know and understand one another better, and helped increase the oxygen of humanity, which mankind needs so much today, primarily in order to counteract the threat of nuclear self-destruction.

The festivals, which cut an unforgettable, long path across our wide lands, demonstrated how much we have in common in all spheres of human activity and how great is our peoples' desire for beauty, goodness, and peace. They are a remarkable example of the way our cherished ideals and goals, proclaimed in the Delhi declaration, can be implemented through people's diplomacy.

History is the creative activity of the broadest people's masses on the hard road to prosperity, peace, and perfection. The involvement of millions of people in the process of creation rather than destruction, the process of humans' knowledge and realization of the great inner forces of creation, are the political and moral purpose of socialism.

This lies at the root of the revolutionary processes of restructuring in our society, whose heart is democratization and the widest involvement of the people in resolving public and state matters. As the incarnation of the Great October Socialist Revolution, restructuring is strong because it is a mass phenomenon and a free expression of the thoughts and will of the people, one geared to the renewal of Soviet society. This helps us to tackle sometimes difficult domestic problems. It has helped us achieve the first promising results in the relaxation of international tension. In the Asia-Pacific region, too, there are positive processes abroad which illustrate people's desire for mutual security and their awareness that interstate and national interests are related. The Nonaligned Movement is making a big contribution in the world today.

In particular, I would say that Soviet-Indian relations have become a unique stabilizing factor of international significance in recent years. They are based on respect for the uniqueness of our peoples, their sovereign right to political and social choice, trust, and mutual efforts for peace and security. An exchange of spiritual values, assimilation of one another's experience in the solution of social questions, a wide range of trade-economic, scientific-technical, and cultural building—all these are today's realities and examples for other countries and peoples to follow.

Next year India celebrates the centennial of the birth of its great son, Jawahar Lal Nehru. He was present at the birth of our friendship and is enormously loved by Soviet people. Our multifaceted relations today, their considerable prospects, and the Soviet-Indian cultural festivals are the best possible tribute to his memory and an embodiment of the course of J. Nehru and Indira Gandhi.

It gives me great pleasure to convey best wishes to the readers of the magazine SOVIET LAND and to the entire friendly Indian people.

Gerasimov Urges Stronger Sri Lankan Relations
LD2112161088 Moscow TASS in English 1543 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 21 TASS—The Soviet Union hopes that traditionally friendly ties between the USSR and Sri Lanka will further develop for the benefit of the two countries and in the interests of stronger peace and security in Asia, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, said to a TASS correspondent today.

The incumbent prime minister, Ranasinghe Premadasa, a candidate of the ruling United National Party won the presidential elections in Sri Lanka.

In keeping with the nation's Constitution, he will hold the post for six years.

Problems Facing New Sri Lankan Leader Viewed

BK2112063688 Moscow International Service in Tamil 1400 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Vadim Menigov commentary]

[Text] The results of the presidential elections in Sri Lanka have been released today. Former Prime Minister Ranasinghe Premadasa has been elected the new president of Sri Lanka. Our commentator Vadim Menigov writes:

Sri Lanka's leaders had to make strenuous efforts to hold the presidential elections under very severe circumstances. The statement of the president-elect that it was a fight between the bullet and the ballot is not out of context; and the longing for peace and stability triumphed with the successful holding of the elections. Following 82-year-old Junius Richard Jayewardene, Ranasinghe Premasada has taken over as president.

Ranasinghe Premadasa was born to a middle-class Sinhalese family. Political observers point out that he is the first president not to come from the higher strata of society. He has experience in politics and began his political career in 1950, then became a member of the Colombo Municipal Council. Later, he held the posts of minister for local government, minister for housing construction, and minister for highways. Ranasinghe Premadasa is the vice president of Sri Lanka's ruling United National Party. His election manifesto includes a provision for a million houses and food for the poor. This manifesto made him popular among the poor.

It is difficult to say whether the president-elect will be able to fulfill the pledges made during the election, for he has assumed power at a very difficult time. The voters also know this well.

A solution to all the problems facing the country depends on resolving the ethnic conflict. The policies adopted by the Jayewardene government for resolving the ethnic conflict had the support of the vast majority of the Sri Lankan people. Having suffered during the 6-year-long war, the people rightly evaluated the government's efforts to find a peaceful solution to the Tamil problem. The people of Sri Lanka say that this problem should be solved only with the participation of all those concerned in a peaceful, political way. We can say that the people of Sri Lanka voted for Premadasa to support the continuation of these policies.

The electorate had a very difficult problem before them, for they had to judge who among the three candidates contesting the presidential elections was the most suitable choice. They had to confront the attempts and intimidation of the (?antinational elements) to boycott the elections. The results of the elections clearly show that the people of Sri Lanka do not support either the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam nor the Sinhalese extremist organization Janata Vimukhti Peramuna. Neither were they cowed by the threats of the terrorists. Thus, the people of Sri Lanka voted in favor of peace. They are determined to protect the peaceful future of their country.

We wish the new president success in the difficult task of solving the most difficult ethnic conflict and in restoring peace and tranquillity in the country. The Soviet people greet the people of Sri Lanka for their success in this distinguished objective.

East Europe

Jaruzelski Speech at Party Plenum Summarized

PM2112150388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "On Course of Renewal"]

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Dec—The PZPR is and will remain the key political force in socialist Poland. It will not betray socialist principles but will with all decisiveness eliminate everything which is antiquated, continue the reforms, and enrich ideology and practice with everything which accords with the spirit and realities, everything that really stems from the vital interests and demands of the working class and the working people. W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, stated this when opening the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

Socialist renewal is the fundamentally Polish concept of the general restructuring of all aspects of public life, W. Jaruzelski continued. Today we are operating in different conditions, on the already solid base of our own experience in implementing the reforms and, of course, broadly following the restructuring in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries. The understanding, trust, and friendship on the part of the CPSU are an exceptionally valuable support for our efforts.

A great deal has already been done in Poland, but this is still little in comparison with the society's expectations and the real needs. It should be stated self-critically that the decisions of the 10th PZPR Congress are not being implemented quickly and efficiently enough. The party's work style is changing too slowly, and measures in the economic sphere connected with the second stage of the economic reform have been delayed—and some decisions have been mistaken. But changes are already noticeable in the dynamics of the new government's activity. Now the time has come for more comprehensive fundamental changes.

A paradoxical and, in the long term, dangerous contradiction has arisen between the role of the party as a genuine inspiration and organizer of progressive changes in Poland's life, and its decrepit structures, obsolete work style, and theoretical base, which has not been renewed sufficiently boldly. It is essential to discuss what

needs to be done immediately so that the party in all its activity confirms and stimulates the course of reforms, so that its functions, structures, and work style correspond to the modern model of the socialist state.

The working people and the entire people need a strong and healthy party which is fully aware of the its duties and is capable in the contemporary conditions of being the inspiration for the creation of a kind of "federation of Polish left-wing forces." Breaches of public order, the destabilization of the socialist state, paralysis of the economic reform, and the alienation of the working class must not be permitted. The experience of the distant and recent past shows that these fears are not without foundation.

On behalf of the Politburo W. Jaruzelski proposed holding the plenum in two stages: the present 2-day session and a second—in the middle of January 1989—when the results of the discussion of the Politburo's theses will be summed up.

Then M. Orzechowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, delivered the Politburo report "Party Reform Is the Condition for the Success of the Strategy of Renewal and Reforms." W. Baka, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, provided information about the country's economic situation and the plan for consolidating the national economy.

Jaruzelski Praises Gorbachev Initiatives
LD2212100488 Moscow TASS in English 0903 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw December 22 TASS—The end of 1988 is an important period in promoting mutual understanding among nations, Wojciech Jaruzelski, leader of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP), said at a party plenum on Wednesday.

He described Gorbachev's recent speech at the United Nations as a historic political event which gives hope for the future.

"On behalf of our party I want to say that the Soviet leader's way of thinking and his concept of international and European security reflect the views of the Polish United Workers Party and meet Polish national interests," Jaruzelski said. He added that Gorbachev's speech was a major step towards building a "common European home."

"Poland is also working in this direction. The recent meeting of the Polish defence committee adopted far-reaching decisions designed to bring Poland's military strategy in line with the new European situation."

Reprisals Against Polish Communists Recalled
PM1212122988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[O. Losoto article: "Restoring the Truth"]

[Text] The commission of Soviet and Polish scholars on the history of relations between the USSR and Poland is at work in accordance with the Declaration on Soviet-Polish Cooperation in Ideology, Science, and Culture. Its third session has just ended in Moscow.

The press is carrying more and more detailed, in-depth articles based on documents and illuminating complex problems in the history of Soviet-Polish relations—so-called "blank spots." The article "The Comintern and the Communist Party of Poland" published in the journal VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS (Nos 11-12, 1988) by F. Firsov and I. Yazhborovskaya is worthy of attention in this regard.

This is one of the first major articles on the results of the joint commission's work. The authors of the article, relying on the work of Soviet and Polish researchers and using archive documents, analyze the development of relations between the Comintern, the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), and the Communist Party of Poland [KPP], demonstrating the reasons and circumstances that led to the KPP's disbandment.

The authors of the article show that the mass reprisals against Polish Communists and the KPP's disbandment were inspired by I.V. Stalin and carried out on his orders.

One political trial after another was under way in the Land of the Soviets. The Comintern, its apparatus, and the leading cadres of a number of communist parties were drawn into its orbit of terror. Polish Communists were among the first to be affected by the wave of repression. The KPP was stripped of its leadership in the summer of 1937.

The Comintern Executive Committee Presidium had doubts about the correctness of the arrest of the KPP leaders. But the NKVD-supplied evidence given under interrogation by those arrested—who were forced to admit that they were guilty of espionage and subversion—was meant to convince the Comintern Executive Committee leadership. Under these conditions a draft resolution on the KPP's disbandment appeared.

The falsified accusations alleging that the KPP was "littered with class enemy agents" led to its disbandment in 1938. This was a severe blow to the Polish workers movement.

In February 1956 the KPP's disbandment was deemed unjustifiable and the slanderous accusations against the party were annulled.

The tragedy of the KPP, the authors of the article conclude, was part and parcel of the tragedy suffered by the Soviet people during the Stalin years. That is why revealing and stating the whole truth about this question is a contribution to rooting out the vestiges of the personality cult. It means promoting the restoration of the Leninist ideals of socialism.

Yugoslav People's Army Day Marked

PM2112160788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Dec 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS correspondent A. Bocharov article specially for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA: "Heirs to Glorious Traditions: Tomorrow Is Yugoslav People's Army Day"]

[Excerpt] Belgrade—[passage omitted] "Yugoslavia in miniature"—that was the phrase that Colonel L. Krajnc [SFRY People's Army mechanized brigade commander] used about his combined unit. It was with those same words, though in the context of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], that my conversation with Colonel General S. Buncic, member of the LCY Central Committee and SFRY assistant federal secretary for national defense in charge of legal and political affairs, began. The discussion centered on the YPA's place in contemporary Yugoslav society, which is at a complex and crucial stage of reforms in the economy, political system, and the party, and on how personnel perceive the transformations ahead.

"The army," he said, "is in tune with society's life and problems; it is not a separate entity in this respect.

"The YPA has shared, shares, and will continue to share the destiny of the working class and the peoples and ethnic groups of Yugoslavia, and the working people are well aware of this. For example, to ease the burden of the economic crisis for the country we embarked on a reduction of some armed forces development programs.

"We say with pride," S. Buncic continued, "that the character of our army is typical of all Yugoslavia and it incorporates within itself the multinational family of the peoples and ethnic groups of the SFRY. Interethnic relations should not be forgotten in army collectives, too, of course, but I must say that after serving in the YPA young people emerge as real patriots of their country. This is due very much to their army teachers."

Nevertheless, antisocialist elements, taking advantage of current difficulties in the country's life, have become more active recently, impudently demanding the revision of the fundamentals of the SFRY state system, and openly attacking the army's place and role in the state's political system. Some of them dislike the activeness of YPA representatives in the work of various party, state, and social organs, and therefore demand that the army be confined to barracks. Others have been trying to accuse the YPA of harboring "putschist" ambitions. Others still have been urging the abandonment of integrated regular armed forces and a switch to creation of "republic" armies. All these suggestions packaged as pacifist ideas are aimed primarily at young people.

The army and the country's working people resolutely oppose such attacks, which they characterize as attempts to destroy Yugoslavia and undermine unity in the country. "These are senseless ideas," Col Gen S. Buncic stressed with reference to the attacks on the YPA. "The role and duty of our People's and All-Yugoslav Army are defined by the SFRY Constitution. The YPA has operated in accordance with the country's fundamental law and will contine to do so."

Yazov Greets Yugoslavia's Kadijevic on Army Day

PM2212101288 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Dec 88 First Edition p 1

[Message from USSR Defense Minister D. Yazov to SFRY Federal Secretary for National Defense Veljko Kadijevic on Yugoslav Army Day]

[Text] To SFRY Federal Secretary for National Defense Colonel General Comrade Veljko Kadijevic

Esteemed Comrade Federal Secretary!

On behalf of the USSR Armed Forces and on my own account I send to you and to all Yugoslav servicemen warm greetings and cordial congratulations on the 47th anniversary of the Yugoslav People's Army.

We note with satisfaction that the traditions of combat collaboration between our countries' peoples, born and tempered in the struggle against a common enemy in the years of World War II, are today continued in links and contacts between the Soviet Armed Forces and the Yugoslav Army, and are strengthening in the interests of the cause of peace and socialism.

I wish you, esteemed Comrade Federal Secretary, and all servicemen of the Yugoslav People's Army further successes in strengthening the SFRY's defense capability.

With communist greetings

D. Yazov

Army general

USSR defense minister

Yakovlev Talks With Hungarian Envoy in Moscow

LD2112235088 Budapest MTI in English 1532 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, December 21 (MTI)—On Wednesday Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of

the Soviet Union and secretary of the Central Committee, met Sandor Rajnai, ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic to the Soviet Union, at the request of the Hungarian diplomat.

Talks were held in a cordial friendly atmosphere on certain questions connected with the relations between Hungary and the Soviet Union, and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The discussion also covered the changes under way in the two countries under the guidance of the HSWP and the CPSU.

West Europe

Gorbachev Awarded Literature Prize in Rome

LD2212032288 Moscow TASS in English 2202 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Rome December 22 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Aleksandr Tarakanov:

International prizes in modern arts and literature were awarded in a ceremony at the Rome City Council Wednesday night.

The prizes were instituted by the Italian Association for Culture and Spare Time and a number of other public organisations ten years ago.

It was announced at the ceremony that Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, has been awarded the 1988 prize in social and political journalism for his book "Perestroyka: New Thinking for Our Country and the World".

An authoritative jury, which included prominent Italian politicians, public figures, authors and journalists, noted that the Soviet leader's book is permeated with important ideas of humanism.

It makes people throughout the world think over topical problems of the modern world and take specific steps to strengthen and develop the process of detente and disarmament.

According to a public opinion poll, the Soviet leader's book, brought out late last year in Italian by Italy's leading publishing trust Mondadori, has been the best-selling publication on social and political affairs throughout the year.

Ligachev Speech Featured in French Publication

PM1512161588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Anthology of Documents"]

[Text] The "26th French Communist Party [PCF] Congress" anthology has been published. It includes materials and documents from the French Communists' congress: the report and concluding remarks by G. Marchais, secretary general of the PCF; the CPSU Central Committee greeting; the speech by Ye.K. Ligachev, head of the CPSU delegation, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; the congress resolution, and also the new composition of the PCF leading organs and other materials.

The anthology has been published by the Political Literature Publishing House.

Petrovskiy, Finnish Deputy Foreign Minister Meet

LD2112201588 Moscow TASS in English 1748 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 21 TASS—Soviet-Finnish political consultations were held in the USSR Foreign Ministry today. They involved Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, and Jakko Blumberg, head of the Finnish Foreign Ministry Political Department.

They discussed wide-ranging international topics, among them urgent issues of the activity of the United Nations Organisation and its Security Council. The sides achieved mutual understanding on questions of increasing cooperation in enhancing in every way the efficiency of the United Nations and strengthening its peace potential.

Katushev Signs Trade Protocol in Finland

LD2212071188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1358 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Helsinki, 21 Dec (TASS)—A protocol has been signed here on the mutual delivery of goods between the Soviet Union and Finland for 1989. The document was signed by the USSR Minister of Foreign Economic relations K.F. Katushev and Finland's Minister of Trade and Industry I. Suominen.

Speaking at the ceremony of the signing of the protocol, K.F. Katushev stressed that both sides reaffirmed the desire to develop mutually advantageous cooperation and to jointly find solutions to problems arising in the interests of our peoples and countries.

The restructuring of the Soviet Union's foreign economic activities is opening up new opportunities for the development of bilateral cooperation, I. Suominen stated. In this connection, he noted, the role of such new

forms of work as the establishment of joint enterprises, the expansion of reciprocal deliveries, and the implementation of projects on a compensation basis is especially growing.

K.F. Katushev held meetings and conversations with Finnish prime minister H. Holkeri, with Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister K. Sorsa, and with I. Suominen, during which the state of and the prospects for trade and economic relations between the USSR and Finland were discussed.

Helsinki Reports on Protocol

LD2112205988 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 1700 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] The value of Finnish-Soviet trade will fall from this year's level. According to a goods exchange protocol signed in Helsinki today, the total exchange next year will be at least 23 billion markkas. It is estimated that this year's total goods exchange will be about 27 billion markkas. Konstantin Katushev, the Soviet minister of foreign economic relations, believes that the fall in Finnish-Soviet trade exchange next year will be a temporary phenomenon. Katushev stressed that he believes that the fall in the trade exchange can be corrected. In Katushev's view a central factor in the talks must be an increase in Soviet exports. However, he stressed that exports can be increased only outside the energy sector.

It has been calculated that the imports from the USSR agreed for next year will be about 12 billion markkas. The total value of the deliveries in accordance with the minimum limits for exports in the goods exchange protocol is about 10.6 billion markkas. Next year's protocol is not based on a fixed estimate of the world market prices of energy. According to Minister of Trade and Industry Ilkka Suominen, the calculated basic price of crude oil has been regarded as $14 per barrel.

Neste and the Soviet oil exporting company, Soyuznefteeksport, today signed a delivery agreement on next year's crude oil imports. According to the agreement, a total of 8.5 million tonnes of crude oil will be imported. According to the present price level, the value of imports is about 3.7 billion markkas. The amount is in accordance with the 5-year basic agreement which expires in 1990.

Today Suomen Vientiluotto [of Finnish Export Credit] concluded an agreement of intent on new credits, totalling 1.7 billion markkas, with the Soviet Bank of Foreign Economic Affairs and the main administration for foreign currency in the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. The credits will be used to finance ship exports from Finland to the USSR and the export of machinery, equipment, and construction services. The credits will be implemented in convertible currencies in accordance with the clearing system between the countries.

Latin America & Caribbean

Gorbachev Message to Uruguayan CP Chairman

PM2012102988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1

[Text of undated M. Gorbachev congratulations to Rodney Arismendi on his election as chairman of the Communist Party of Uruguay Central Committee]

[Text] To Comrade Rodney Arismendi, chairman of the Communist Party of Uruguay [PCU] Central Committee

Dear Comrade Rodney Arismendi!

Accept my cordial congratulations in connection with your election as chairman of the PCU Central Committee.

I wish you success in your work in this high and responsible post in the struggle for peace, democracy, and socialism, in the interests of the development and strengthening of friendly relations between our parties and peoples.

I firmly shake your hand and wish you good health.

With communist greetings

[Signed] M. Gorbachev

New Uruguay CP Secretary Greeted by Gorbachev

PM2012104388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1

[Text of M. Gorbachev undated congratulations to Jaime Perez on his election as secretary general of the Communist Party of Uruguay]

[Text] To Comrade Jaime Perez, secretary general of the Communist Party of Uruguay [PCU] Central Committee

Dear Comrade Jaime Perez!

I cordially congratulate you on your election as secretary general of the PCU Central Committee.

I wish you much success in your noble work for the triumph of the ideals of peace, democracy, and socialism. I am confident that the traditional friendly relations between our parties will continue to develop for the good of the Soviet and the Uruguayan peoples.

I wish you good health and fruitful work in the your high and responsible post!

With communist greetings

[Signed] M. Gorbachev

Cuban Delegation Leaves for Treaty Signing

LD2112182788 Moscow TASS in English 0738 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Havana December 21 TASS—An official Cuban delegation left for New York on Tuesday to sign an agreement on South West Africa. The agreements will end the series of talks held by Cuba, Angola and South Africa with U.S. participation.

The delegation is headed by Jorge Risquet Valdes, member of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee.

The official Cuban news agency AIN says that Angola, Cuba and South Africa are to sign a three-sided treaty on all major aspects of a peace settlement in South West Africa. The document should guarantee sovereignty and territorial integrity to Angola, and grant independence to Namibia in full compliance with U.N. Security Council Resolution 435.

Cuba and Angola will also sign a document on the withdrawal of Cuban internationalist troops from Angola.

Conclusion of Colombian CP Congress Reported

PM2112104988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Zagorskiy and TASS correspondent S. Fedorin dispatch: "Colombian Communist Party Congress Ended"]

[Text] Bogota, 17 Dec—The 15th Colombian Communist Party [PCC] Congress has ended here. CPSU delegation head G.N. Kiselev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and second secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at the closing ceremony. On behalf of the Central Committee and M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, he cordially greeted the congress delegates and all the Colombian Communists and wished them success in fulfilling the tasks set by the forum, in the struggle for the basic interests of the Colombian working people, against domination by imperialism and transnational companies.

The leaders of the Communist Party delegations from Cuba and Vietnam, and a representative of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front in El Salvador, also addressed the assembly. The congress expressed its fraternal solidarity with the just struggle of the peoples of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chile, and other countries.

A PCC Central Committee plenum took place not long before the beginning of the concluding session. Gilberto Vieira was once again elected general secretary of the PCC Central Committee. Alvaro Vasquez became deputy general secretary of the PCC Central Committee. The plenum also elected the PCC Central Committee Executive Committee consisting of 18 people.

Gilberto Vieira gave the concluding address at the closing of the congress. He presented the results of the forum's work, and noted the positive progress in the international arena as a result of the restructuring in international relations, in the spirit of the new political thinking taking place largely thanks to the USSR's peace-loving policy.

G. Vieira stated that the PCC's most important aim is to extricate the country peacefully from crisis by means of a political settlement of the internal conflict and the creation of a pluralist government which would struggle for peace and democracy. In this connection he once again drew the attention of those present to the peace plan adopted by the congress, one of whose basic provisions is the proposal to establish direct dialogue between the government and the insurgents at national and regional levels. The PCC Central Committee general secretary said that Colombian Communists are not intimidated by the campaign of terror and repressions unleashed against them by reaction—something demonstrated by the very fact that the 15th congress was being held openly in downtown Bogota.

Costa Rican Ambassador Arrives in Moscow

PM2112142388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Enrique Obregon Valverde, Costa Rican ambassador to the USSR, arrived in Moscow 19 December.

Political & Social

Defense Statements at Trial of Churbanov, Others

PM2212113088 Moscow TRUD in Russian 22 Dec 88 p 6

[TASS special correspondents N. Demidov, V. Itkin report under the rubric "At the USSR Supreme Court": "The Attorneys Take the Floor"]

[Text] The trial in the case of bribery on a very large scale by a number of former senior officials of the MVD continues in Moscow.

As already reported, the sides—the state prosecution and the defense—have begun their oral statements. After the speech by A.V. Sboyev, assistant USSR general prosecutor, the attorneys took the floor.

The defense is being handled by attorneys from the Moscow City collegium, A. Makarov, A. Rappoport, S. Plotkin, L. Shaposhnikova, P. Barenboym, N. Gagarin, Ya. Rokhlin, and L. Mamut.

Let us recall that the state prosecutor, in his speech, dropped many of the points of the charge brought against the defendants. He substantiated those points that, in his opinion, had been confirmed beyond dispute in court, dropping those that, in his opinion, had not received sufficient proof.

In their speeches, the attorneys analyzed the criminal case from the defense viewpoint. They noted that in the process of the court investigation many points of the charge were not confirmed. In their opinion—and the attention of the court was drawn to this—the organs of preliminary investigation did not always correctly categorize the actions of the defendants. In particular, they feel, the receipt of a series of sums from the defendants should be categorized not as bribery, but as abuse of official position.

Churbanov's defender A. Makarov deemed as not proven the points of the charge relating to Churbanov's receiving bribes from Uzbek SSR MVD officials. In his speech the attorney called into question the grounds for the assessment of his client's actions in connection with the receiving of gifts in the form of large sums of money from leading workers in the republic as the receiving of bribes. In the course of the examination of the episode relating to Churbanov's receiving a bribe from former Uzbekistan Minister of Internal Affairs Ergashev through the mediation of Begelman, Makarov drew attention to the documents demanded by the court on his application, from which, in his opinion, it is clear that the charges relating to this episode are unfounded.

In his speech A. Makarov focused attention on what he regards as the patent bias toward the prosecution in the investigation of this case and the infringements of the law. In this regard he asked the court to make an intermediate order with regard to the organs of preliminary investigation.

Yakhyayev's defender, Attorney A. Rappoport, drew the attention of the court to the fact that, in his opinion, the former Uzbek SSR minister of internal affairs was forced to incriminate himself and the other defendants as a result of incorrect methods of investigation and the infringement of his right to defense. Emphasizing the absence, in his opinion, of convincing evidence of Yakhyayev's guilt, the attorney drew the court's attention, in particular, to the unproven nature of the facts relating to his client's handing over bribes to Churbanov and Shchelokov.

On the basis of analysis of the criminal case, the attorneys for Churbanov, Yakhyayev, and Kakhramanov asked the court to acquit their clients on all points of the charge. Begelman's attorney, in light of his client's repentance, requested a more lenient punishment than that proposed by the state prosecutor. The attorneys for Sabirov, Dzhamalov, Norbutayev, Norov, and Makhamadzhanov requested that the actions of their clients with regard to receiving money from their subordinates be categorized as abuse of official position, and raised the question of freeing their clients under the 1987 amnesty in honor of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Here the oral statements ended. In accordance with the law, the defendants will be granted the last word on 22 December. After this the court will retire to make a decision on the case.

Medvedev, Party Officials View Election Issues

LD2112191388 Moscow TASS in English 1848 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 21 TASS—Issues of organisational and political work of party organisations in connection with preparations for elections of people's deputies were discussed at a meeting at the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee today.

The meeting was attended by secretaries in charge of ideological work, heads of the departments of organisational and party work at the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the union republics, territorial and regional party committees and heads of mass media outlets.

Georgiy Razumovskiy, alternate member of the Politburo and secretary of the party Central Committee, addressed the meeting.

He observed that the main issue of the election campaign was to form a corps of deputies that would match the new tasks.

In nominating candidates, it was necessary to take into account their social and political experience, loyalty to socialist principles, aptitude for state affairs, deep conviction of the need for the revolutionary renewal of Soviet society and readiness actively to facilitate that, he said.

The report dwelt in detail on forms and methods of party and political work in the new conditions. Preparations for the poll should become for millions of party members a school of active work among people, a school of mastering methods of persuasion and dialogue, the speaker said.

Vadim Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, said at the meeting that the current election campaign represented a totally new phenomenon in the country's social and political life.

This was not only due to the fact that the elections would be held on new principles, but also because the political and ideological situation in the country had drastically changed.

"Our society is not what it was two or three years ago," Medvedev remarked. "The unprecedented upswing in people's social activity, glasnost, openness in expressing public opinion, immense interest and activity in discussing urgent issues of our development are obvious.

"These are all distinguishing features of our times."

The success of the work ahead would be largely determined by the content, depth and vigour of party organisations' ideological activity that should be conducted on a fundamentally new basis, the party secretary pointed out.

This was not merely explaining slogans, tasks and appeals or giving publicity to candidates, but conducting ideological work in the genuine sense of the word that demanded thorough and serious business-like argumentation, conviction, heated and even fierce debates and comparison of views.

The principal goal of ideological work was to deepen the understanding of the party's domestic and foreign policy, of the ideas of perestroyka and enhancing support for it on the part of various sections of the population.

Preparations for the elections should help consolidate all forces in society in the effort to achieve goals of perestroyka and renewal. "This is both the starting and finishing points in the crucial political campaign that we are entering," Medvedev said.

Central Electoral Commission Holds Session

PM2112115188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Dec 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "At the Central Electoral Commission for Elections of USSR People's Deputies"]

[Text] A routine session of the Central Electoral Commission for elections of USSR people's deputies took place on 20 December in Moscow, at the House of Unions October Hall. It summed up the results of the work done since the beginning of the election campaign and defined specific tasks for the further implementation of this very important sociopolitical measure.

The Central Electoral Commission took note of the report on the establishment, in accordance with the USSR law "on elections of USSR people's deputies," of norms of representation for each public organization participating in the elections, which will be specified at meetings of representatives of the public organizations in the Central Electoral Commission.

Taking into account the novelty of many of the law's demands, the Central Electoral Commission decided to send letters to okrug electoral commissions and commissions for elections of people's deputies from public organizations. The letters give specific recommendations for organizing and holding elections in order to ensure at all stages of the election campaign the observance of democratic norms and principles and openness and glasnost in preparing for the elections.

The commission examined questions of the forms of electoral documents and models of ballot boxes. The most serious attention of all commissions taking part in the organization of the elections was drawn to precision and legal culture in work with documents and the unconditional fulfillment of legislative requirements on these issues.

USSR Communications Minister V.A. Shamshin reported on work to organize steady communications between the Central Electoral Commission and local commissions.

The commission session also examined questions of providing the electoral campaign with legal literature, paper for documentation, and blank electoral documents. M.F. Nenashev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plans, and the Book Trade; and K.M. Prodayvoda, USSR deputy minister of the timber industry, delivered reports on these questions.

The Central Electoral Commission has accepted the proposal of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on changing the schedule for holding individual pre-election events in those electoral okrugs whose territory suffered during the earthquake.

A number of other questions connected with preparing for the elections were examined. A plan for the work of the Central Electoral Commission through January 1989 was approved.

A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; and Yu.N. Khristoradnov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union, took part in the work of the commission.

The Central Electoral Commission session was attended by leaders of a number of ministries and departments and representatives of public organizations and the mass media.

More on Ryzhkov News Conference; Departure

Ryzhkov Answers Questions

PM2112144188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Dec 88 Second Edition pp 1, 2

[TASS report: "Restoration Is the Second Stage. News Conference in Yerevan for Soviet and Foreign Journalists"]

[Excerpts] As has already been announced, a news conference was held 19 December in Yerevan for Soviet and foreign journalists. The following took part in it: N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; N.N. SLyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister; Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Yu.P. Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

N.I. Ryzhkov opened the news conference.

Some 12 days have elapsed, he said, since this disaster—one of the most terrible earthquakes in our country—took place. You know how many casualties there were and how much damage. Much data will be amplified further but it is already clear that it is a question of tens of thousands of deaths and billions in material losses.

This earthquake is in itself unprecedented for the Transcaucasus. Armenia lost approximately 8 million square meters—more than one-half—of the housing stock in this region. Almost 514,000 people were made homeless. Many industrial and agricultural enterprises have been completely destroyed or suffered substantial damage. Considerable sections of railroads and highways have been put out. Bridges and lines of communication have been cut and public services have been completely disabled.

The deaths constitute the most serious and irreparable loss. There is as yet still no final earthquake casualty figure. Some 23,700 people have been brought out dead in the last few days from under the rubble. Some 15,252 people have been rescued. And 10,380 have been hospitalized. By the evening of 18 December 5,200 people had been released from hospitals and 4,843 people were undergoing treatment. [passage omitted]

Then N.I. Ryzhkov and the other members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission answered correspondents' questions.

Question from LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent: In 1 minute almost 400 Armenian villages were damaged and 58 were totally destroyed. Will all these villages be fully restored?

N.I. Ryzhkov: The CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission's opinion on this is firm and unequivocal. All the villages that were partially damaged or completely destroyed must be restored. This is an opinion shared both by the republic's leadership and the Politburo commission. We believe that it would be incorrect and inadmissible to abandon these villages.

Question from TASS correspondent: A TASS team is working here. We have visited Leninakan on several occasions and seen for ourselves that the city's old buildings more or less survived while the modern multistorey panel-construction apartment blocks were destroyed. Will the people who sanctioned high-rise housing construction without taking into consideration the zone's seismological features be called to account? My second question is this: What is your opinion of the role and work of the Soviet mass media at this time?

N.I. Ryzhkov: We specially created a government commission. A document was signed yesterday. Our country's most important scientists, headed by the Gosstroy deputy chairman, were invited here and they are to investigate this question most thoroughly and present their official conclusion to the USSR Government in the first quarter of next year. In our opinion, many mistakes were made here.

First. Nine-storey apartment blocks of the design erected in Leninakan are unable to withstand longitudinal stress, that is, they should not have been put in this seismic zone. Second. Specialists' preliminary assessments indicate that the quality of construction was very low. Major technological violations were permitted. This is a strictly preliminary evaluation. I have already said that a government commission, which will give its conclusion, has been set up and very serious conclusions will, of course,

be drawn. In particular, regarding the leaders who tackled this question in the republic. Appropriate proposals will be made so as to prevent any future repetition of this situation.

The second question concerns the work of the mass media organs. We have a very positive opinion of their work. Obviously, it cannot be said that there were no shortcomings. There are shortcomings everywhere. But by and large mass media organs are working well.

Question from "Mayak" radio program correspondent: Isn't it advisable to create "rapid deployment forces" and support points in the country's seismic zones?

N.I. Ryzhkov: On this occasion there was very little time to discuss questions of the future. There has been virtually no time at all to spare. But nevertheless, as we are in the thick of these events and can see the consequences of the natural disaster and assess realistically the pluses and minuses of our rescue work, we believe that there are very many positive elements, in particular, in our mobilization of all our country's efforts and resources—yet at the same time we can also see the shortcomings. When the acute phase has passed and the work has taken on a normal rhythm, these problems will have to be considered very seriously. I believe that it is not even a question of setting up rapid deployment centers for just, say, Central Asia and the Transcaucasus. A rapid deployment system with both scientific and technical and production potential must be set up in order to ensure that there is equipment, medicine, and transportation in reserve which could be enlisted at any time to eliminate a particular accident situation. As soon as we arrive in Moscow we will instruct the appropriate services to begin elaborating such a system. Yesterday I even asked my comrades working abroad to gather all the information on this question.

Question from KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent: At your previous press conference you spoke about the Army's role during the first stage. What significance does the commission attach to this role during the second stage?

N.I. Ryzhkov: I have already said that more than 20,000 officers and men from troop subunits and 10,000 civil defense troops are now working in our republic. Of course, their functions will change. They are now clearing rubble, tomorrow they will begin preparatory construction work, and then construction itself.

Questions from SOVETSKAYA KULTURA correspondent: What will the hard currency that is being sent to the earthquake victims be used for? Second: It is well known that the residue principle prevailed in the development of population centers with regard to sociocultural and domestic facilities previously. Can we hope that this will not be manifested again during the restoration of Armenia's devastated cities and villages?

N.I. Ryzhkov: With regard to currency: It is concentrated in two areas—directly in Armenia, and in Moscow at the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity. We still don't know how much this will amount to because transfers are still coming in. How do we plan to spend it? We have discussed this question with the Armenian leadership. We will give all the hard currency that has come in or is coming in from states, individual firms, and individual citizens to the Armenian republic. In full, down to the last kopek. We will not spend the money at central level. It will be sent directly to the republic. As is right, the republic has determined for itself how it will spend this money. It has been decided, albeit on a preliminary basis, that medical equipment will be bought with these funds for the hospitals, clinics, and maternity homes that will have to be constructed from scratch in the disaster zone.

The second question is to do with sociocultural and domestic facilities. I think that everything here will be reversed. We will have to begin with sociocultural and domestic facilities. We must first construct schools, hospitals, and kindergartens and at the same time construct housing. That is why we are confident that these cities can be developed harmoniously.

Question from TASS observer: A question for Nikolay Nikitovich Slyunkov: During all these difficult days the Politburo commission has been down among the people, had contacts with them, and seen people at work. How do you think that the primary organizations in the republic's Communist Party—its main link—have shaped up?

N.N. Slyunkov: I must say that despite the very complex situation that emerged owing not only to the scale of the devastation but also to the deaths of a large number of party, soviet, and economic organ leaders and a considerable proportion of the party aktiv, the republic party organization as a whole and the primary organizations and raykoms showed themselves at their best. Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov has cited a number of names. There are many examples in this tragic chronicle that show Communists in the best possible way, their presence of mind, staunchness, courage, self-possession, and selflessness in the face of tremendous calamity.

Comrade Muradyan, first secretary of Spitakskiy party raykom, lost 11 members of his family. But he did not falter and, together with surviving Communists, led all the work of organizing rescue, offering first aid, and keeping people alive. He was even unable to attend the funerals of his nearest and dearest—he did not leave his work place but stayed with people, with the people.

This is an example not merely of what the secretary of a party organization should be like but of what the leader of a party organization, its real leader, should be like. I would even say that he is a national hero. That is how not only Communists but all working people regard him. It is Communists like him who led all the work during the

most tragic hours and days. The party raykom first secretary in Leninakan, where virtually no bureau members survived, had the same task. The ispolkom chairman, a Communist who had also lost his family, remained at his post too. There are many examples like this. We visited many population centers where the Communist survivors were the first to go to people's rescue and the last to leave.

I think that one should not fail to mention here the work of Yerevan party gorkom and the city's raykoms, party organizations, and Communists. Only hours after the disaster more than 7,000 people arrived with equipment at the scene of the devastation and embarked on rescue work. More than 70,000 people subsequently took part in it.

A very complex situation took shape in the rural localities, since at first all efforts were directed toward the major cities. Communists also displayed initiative there, taking afflicted rayons and rural raykoms under their patronage and giving them specific help. Yerevan's raykoms and primary party organizations are taking part in this noble work.

When certain difficulties arose in coping with the flood of consignments now arriving at a particularly intensive rate and when definite aid was required for organizing consignment reception, a headquarters was promptly set up and the Yerevan party gorkom assumed the crucial mission of organizing this work. Dozens, hundreds, thousands of such examples could be cited...

Question from SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA correspondent: When will the first stone for the first apartment block be laid and, realistically speaking, how long will it take to restore the cities and villages?

N.I. Ryzhkov: We will complete the work in, I would say, 2 years. But let Yu.P. Batalin answer your question as to when the first stone will be laid.

Yu.P. Batalin: In the first quarter of next year, that's certain. We have now organized a commission of scientists from the country and from Armenia, which in a few days will give us a final decision as to where apartment blocks can be constructed and their seismic stability. Construction of multistorey apartment blocks and industrial structures made of timber panels will begin in January.

Question from ARMENPRESS: If foreign construction firms express the desire to build in Armenia, will consent be given?

N.I. Ryzhkov: We do not rule out the possibility of this kind of involvement. Preliminary talks have been held with Italian representatives. They have expressed the desire to take part in building one of the rayons in Spitak. This matter is evidently now being considered by the Italian Government. I can tell you that during our conversation with Catholicos Vazgen I, he said that he intends to work in North and South America to persuade Armenian communities to concentrate their material and financial resources on restoring Stepanavan. If individual states or firms show goodwill and assist in building some of the projects or even some of the rayons, we will be grateful for that.

These same proposals were also discussed during a conversation with the secretary general of the Red Cross League. We expressed our appreciation for the medicines, warm clothing, and tents that have been sent and said that there is now no shortage of these things here. They can obviously be put to good use in other countries. At the same time, we responded with gratitude to the proposal, expressed during the conversation, to mobilize resources sent to the Red Cross for building some projects in Armenia. They could be projects such as a special hospital for people who have lost their mobility and a plant or factory for manufacturing artificial limbs.

Yesterday we had a conversation with a representative of the UN secretary general. Then too, the idea was expressed that the construction of such projects would, apart from their humane nature, also be a symbol of good international relations.

Question from a correspondent from the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting to S.G. Arutyunyan: What material contribution is being made by Armenia and its economic potential to eliminating the consequences of the earthquake?

S.G. Arutyunyan: It is hard to say what position Armenia would be in now if the shoulder of our great power had not been behind us during these difficult days. The universal solidarity and hands of assistance extended to us from all corners of our country and the whole world will remain forever in the grateful memory of our people.

We have received a mass of letters, telegrams, and telephone calls during these days. People are expressing their sincere gratitude and appreciation to all the peoples of our country, to our party's central committee, and to M.S. Gorbachev, who broke off his visit, came here immediately, to the republic, was at the very epicenter of events, and had numerous meetings with the population in Leninakan, Spitak, and Kirovakan. And these meetings were invaluable to us, because they inspired confidence in people's troubled souls and imparted a sense of optimism to our population, the Armenian working people.

I must say that the work done by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission which has worked unremittingly all these days, hours, and, I would say, minutes, has been an example to us, the leaders of the republic. Today we managed to carve out 2 hours to visit Yerevan and meet the population of the city. We were touched to the depths of our soul by the sincere words of

gratitude citizens have expressed today to our party's Central Committee, the commission, and the CPSU Central Committee Politburo for the work they have done these days.

I would like, on behalf of the people of Armenia and the working people of the republic, to express words of gratitude to the world community and all countries and peoples who have extended the hand of assistance to Armenia. The epicenter of the disaster in Armenia has essentially now become an epicenter of generosity, charity, and humanity.

With regard to our republic's real participation in eliminating the consequences of the earthquake, naturally all of the republic's reserves and resources will be mobilized.

Question from IZVESTIYA: Is it in fact possible to predict an earthquake?

N.I. Ryzhkov: It goes without saying that we have been having meetings with scientists in the past days. N.P. Laverov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, is here. He is one of the country's leading scientists. He has invited a number of specialists here and every day they are defining and analyzing everything connected with the seismic situation. A major earthquake is always followed by diminishing tremors and there have been more than 1,000 such tremors so far. Yesterday, for example, a total of 22 were registered in 24 hours. Consequently, the people are afraid that there will be another large earthquake. The scientists say that everything in this zone is going according to plan, as they say—in other words, in accordance with certain natural laws characteristic of such strong earthquakes. That is the scientists' opinion.

As far as earthquake forecasts are concerned, then as far as I have been able to deduce for myself, it generally seems that there are now some possibilities of predicting certain phenomena after an in-depth analysis of all available data. In this case everything must be studied very carefully, of course, and scientists are now studying all the data at the disposal of the seismic service in Armenia and other regions of the country. The French and the Americans have offered us their services and we have set up sophisticated equipment.

Does the work of our country's seismic service need to be improved? Without a doubt. I think serious thought will have to be given to this question. I believe there are two problems involved here. The first is the technical equipment at the disposal of the seismic service. And the second problem: Obviously all services must work efficiently. We need to create the kind of service that can analyze the seismic situation as it develops and issue warnings. Although, as far as we can see from scientists' information, they have a great many "blank spots" which they are unfortunately unable to explain at present.

Question from a National Public Radio correspondent: I have seen that there are still a great many women and children in Leninakan. Are they going to stay there, and when will the city be rebuilt?

N.I. Ryzhkov: When we saw the scale of the devastation and the situation that has taken shape in these regions, we and the republic leaders drew quite clear conclusions: Women, children, and old people must be taken away from this region. The men will remain—first to take part in the rescue operation work and later to play a role in construction work. As soon as the first homes begin to appear, people will start to return and begin living in their home cities again. Many will also return to their enterprises, which will be restored.

Question from the Armenian journal VOZNI: Please allow me, Nikolay Ivanovich, to sincerely thank you for the difficult, noble work you have done. Tell me, did you have a certain idea about our people before you came and has this idea changed at all now?

N.I. Ryzhkov: I have already answered this question today—in the street, when we managed to get away for a couple of hours to look around Yerevan.

Wherever we went there were a lot of people and conversations were struck up, of course. Until now, I had never been to Armenia. But I know comrades from Armenia through my work. I did, of course, have some idea about your people. However, these last few days have given me a deeper insight. I have witnessed their unity and seen how bravely they have endured their pain and gone to each other's assistance. After this tragedy I will have even greater respect for the Armenian people.

Question from TASS journalist addressed to D.T. Yazov: What is your opinion of the role played by our servicemen in dealing with the consequences of the earthquake?

D.T. Yazov: I would like to point out that it was the servicemen who were the first highly organized group of people to enter the battle against the elements. They cleared obstructions, despite the fact that some of the military servicemen's own families were among the victims—there was a full complement of servicemen in the city. With their help we were able to efficiently organize feeding centers and set up the tents available. Then, following instructions from N.I. Ryzhkov, a large number of tents were airlifted in. Military servicemen helped to set them up in population centers and transported bread and other food to cities, settlements, and villages. I believe they fulfilled their tasks with honor.

Correspondent from the NBC television company: I would be interested to know how and where the cities hit by the disaster are going to be constructed.

N.I. Ryzhkov: As far as building cities is concerned, I have already said: Two cities—Leninakan and Kirovakan —will be built within their present borders. But we will be erecting buildings of a different type of construction. As far as Spitak is concerned, the question has yet to be decided. Yu.P. Batalin is currently studying this question. The city was at the very center of the collapse, at the crossroads. Designers and seismologists are now working on this. They must say where it is possible and where it is impossible to build in Spitak.

Question from a SOVETAKAN AYASTAN newspaper correspondent: What resources will be used to restore the stricken region? This question is for Yu.D. Maslyukov.

Yu.D. Maslyukov: The restoration of Armenia and elimination of the consequences of the earthquake will be financed with the resources and means at the disposal of other union republics, ministries, and departments. In this way the whole country will be involved in restoring Armenia. That decision has been taken. Five resolutions are now being drafted on this issue. It looks as if they are going to be discussed at the end of this week.

Question from the Japanese newspaper MAINICHI: The question of Nagorno-Karabakh has been a serious issue lately. Has the nature of the issue changed since the earthquake?

S.G. Arutyunyan: You know that after the USSR Supreme Soviet session, M.S. Gorbachev and members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo had a meeting with USSR Supreme Soviet deputies from Armenia and Azerbaijan. They had a very detailed conversation and a free, open discussion of issues connected with interethnic relations, including Nagorno-Karabakh. They reached an agreement that the two union republics would meet again and together discuss this problem in detail to find a compromise solution.

However, owing to the disaster we naturally have been unable to hold this meeting and so it has been postponed. Now all our concern and all our efforts are concentrated first and foremost on saving people, eliminating the serious consequences of the earthquake, and rebuilding people's lives. But the Nagorno-Karabakh problem still exists—no one is denying it—and it requires a compromise approach and a compromise solution. We must think about this and work on it. But work in a spirit of good-neighborliness rather than a spirit of confrontation.

N.I. Ryzhkov: These two peoples must live together in peace. They have lived together for centuries and must continue to do so now. There is no other alternative. The problem must be resolved through compromise and by seeking mutually acceptable political solutions. I believe that the two republics will find that solution.

TV Shows News Conference

LD2112232888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1550 GMT 20 Dec 88

[News conference hosted by N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, in Yerevan on 19 December—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted]

[Correspondent, in Russian] A question from the Japanese newspaper TOKYO SHIMBUN. Nikolay Ivanovich, tell me please, can it really be guaranteed that there is no danger of an epidemic occurring or spreading here? That is the first question. Secondly, tell me please, how might the consequences, the damage done by the earthquake, affect the course of restructuring, particularly in the realm of economics? Thank you.

[Ryzhkov] Let us take the first question, regarding an epidemic. As far as the towns are concerned, we are confident that we have the situation here firmly in hand. We have had misgivings, however, on another aspect—not in the towns, but in the villages, because a very great deal of livestock perished. Considering the fact that the rayons are very much scattered, while these detachments are getting around to the livestock units the decomposition of this livestock is, of coure, continuing. We were fearful for the danger in the countryside. We formed 12 detachments from the servicemen in Spitakskiy Rayon. They are working 24 hours a day and all the burials of the livestock will be completed. The danger will then, accordingly, be past. So in our view, we have this situation in hand.

Next, economic losses. Of course, this will affect the country as a whole, without a doubt—for nothing comes of nothing. We are obliged to withdraw these resources, from the other republics and from other directions, where, of course, they were not superfluous, and to direct them in the course of 2 years into eliminating this natural disaster. Therefore, this has no effect upon restructuring—we will move onward. In some directions, however, we will have to put on the brakes a bit, say, in resolving social problems. However, we will strive to do it in such a way, as they say, as not to upset the overall development of our country, although we will have to cut back, as we put it, a little in places. There is no doubt about that. [passage omitted]

[Ponomarev] I have a question for Nikolay Nikitovich. I am a TASS observer, Ponomarev. Nikolay Ivanovich has told us about the organizational role of the leadership of the republic in these extraordinary circumstances. What is your impression on how the primary organizations of republic have shown their worth—that is, the main section of the party?

[Slyunkov] Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov has given the names and centers of great destruction, such towns as Leninakan and Spitak. Here there are examples which

best characterize Communists, their endurance, their staunchness, their courage, self-possession, and selflessness in their work. After all, Comrade Muradyan, first secretary of Spitakaskiy Rayon Party Committee, lost eleven members of his family but he, along with the Communists who remained alive, headed all the work on rescue organization, on providing medical aid, on providing for those people left alive. He is an example not only of a secretary of a party organization, the leader of a party organization—he is a real leader, I would say a national hero. That is how people are assessing him, not only the Communists but all the working people. They look upon him as a person and as a Communist. This kind of conduct, this kind of position was and is being taken by the Communists who headed all the work. For example, there was in Leninakan the first secretary of the raykom where barely any members of the bureau remained.

The same is the case for the chairman of the executive committee, a Communist who also lost his family, and this could be observed not just directly in these towns. We have visited numerous settlements where the Communists who survived were the first to come to where people were being rescued and were the last to leave. One could also quote the work of the party organization and of Communists in organizing all the work of the town party committee, raykoms, primary party organizations, and Communists directly in the city of Yerevan. On the 1st day after the misfortune happened, already by morning more than 7,000 people with their equipment had arrived at the devasted places and started rescue operations. Since then more than 70,000 people have already taken part in rescue operations there. One could quote tens or hundreds of thousands of examples today of both primary party organizations and individual Communists.

[Ryzhkov] I should quote one other example in answer to your question. We were in Stepanavan, and, in particular, we had a conversation with very many people. People were voicing their requests and the restoration was then still at its height; the psychological situation was also very tense. Suddenly one comrade, or a citizen, said: Well, I mean there is no order at all here in this town, no one is in charge here, the secretary of the raykom does nothing, is not coordinating work, and so on. He was standing beside us and we could see that, well, he was not himself. This was in Stepanavan. We then went through two or three districts and once again stopped to look at the destruction wrought on a house. People gathered around once again and some women were saying: thank you, we are being helped. There are, of course, still many shortcomings but, you know, our first secretary, do you know what he is doing? He takes care of us day and night, even at 0300 he checks up on how we are in the tents, and so on.

I asked them: Listen, two districts back, we have just been told on the square that he was working badly. Tell me, is that so, or not? You should have seen their faces, you should have seen what the people were saying: They were shouting, they were saying, where is this person? Who is it who told a lie? This man, they were saying, has been in the same clothes for 8 days; he, they were saying, suffered an identical tragedy. We went to a third point. There we asked, and you should have heard what the attitude to him was. He stood there and cried. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] I am from the National Public Radio, an American concern. If I understood you correctly, you said that the evacuation will be completed in about 3 days. Of course, many people, including women and children, still remain in Leninakan. Who will have the right to live in the town when it is restored?

[Ryzhkov] For the first 3 days we could not do anything, we could not do anything. We tried, and our comrades tried to explain to the population that they had to leave the place. For 3 or 4 days nobody was leaving because everybody was waiting for their dead relatives to be recovered. They said: We are not going anywhere until we find our relatives. We will live out in the street or any place, but we will not go away. As soon as rescue operations had started and we had started digging out both the dead and the survivors step by step, people started to adopt an attitude of great understanding, as the saying goes, and they started to leave. We established evacuation points on that territory. Trade unions took all that in their hands—Comrade Shalayev is their leader—and during the night of 7 December he organized work aimed at vacating places in sanatoria belonging to the Caucasian group and the northern Caucasus.

Therefore, we are assigning a specific task: there should be no children, women, or elderly in that zone, because there are harsh climatic conditions there and of course children cannot survive in tents. There are practically no permanent lodgings there. As soon as the first houses start to appear there Comrade Batalin says that the first stone for single family houses will be laid down in January and two-, three-, and four-storey buildings will be started already somewhere within the first quarter—apartments will be built and people will be coming to live in those towns. We have spoken with many citizens and comrades who are now in those devastated towns. I must say that the overwhelming majority of people say that they have lived there and they will stay there. In other words, when we provide conditions, I think—well, it is difficult to say now whether 90 percent or another number of people will come back—but the overwhelming majority of those who have lived there and have remained alive will come back to live in those towns. This is our firm conviction. Therefore, we will be rebuilding factories so that they can have their work places.

[Saakyan] Nikolay Ivanovich, today I spoke on the radio—my name is Saakyan, from the VOZNI magazine—and sincerely thanked you for you humane, difficult, and noble work. Could you tell me sincerely, have you had a stereotype idea about our people and has it changed over the time you have spent in Armenia?

[Ryzhkov] I have come to know the Armenian people better during these 12 days. I cannot say that I knew it well, because I had never been in Armenia before and I cannot say that I knew the Armenian people very well. I knew many comrades, as the saying goes, from Armenia, those who work here or in Moscow. I had had an idea about this people but these 12 days, to a certain extent, gave me a totally different idea of them. I have a great respect for them— I saw this people's cohesion, I saw how they endured grief, I saw their mutual help—and I feel an even deeper respect for the Armenian people after this tragedy. As a matter of fact, I have now come to know this people. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] The SOVETAKAN AYASTAN newspaper. Let us assume that we have financial resources—do the Gosplan and the Soviet Union, on the whole, have material resources to restore all that has been destroyed within 2 years?

[Maslyukov] The reconstruction of Armenia and the elimination of the consequences of the earthquake will be carried out at the expense of the resources and means with which other republics, ministries, and departments are endowed. Thus, the whole country will take part in the solution of the problem of Armenia's reconstruction using existing resources. Such a decision has been adopted. Five decisions are being drawn up on that matter and it appears that they will be examined late this week or the following week. [passage omitted]

Ryzhkov, Others Depart Armenia

LD2012123788 Moscow TASS in English 1219 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Yerevan December 20 TASS—Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, who heads the commission of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee on dealing with the effects of the earthquake in the Armenian SSR, and members of the commission—Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Dmitriy Yazov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and defence minister of the USSR, today left Yerevan for Moscow.

Yuriy Maslyukov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, departed together with them.

At Zvartnots Airport they were seen off by Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, Grant Voskanyan, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR, Fadey Sarkisyan, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the republic, and Yuriy Batalin and Lev Voronin, members of the commission and deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The commission of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee arrived in Armenia soon after the earthquake, in the early hours of December 8. It headed efforts to launch a large-scale work to overcome the effects of the devastating earthquake and save people.

Members of the commission repeatedly visited disaster-stricken areas, specifically Spitak, Leninakan, Kirovokan, and also rural areas. They met people who have gone through the catastrophe, gave vast specific assistance in organising the interaction of central and republican ministries and departments, all union republics, regions and territories with a view to normalizing as soon as possible life in Armenia's earthquake-striken areas.

Commission Returns to Moscow

LD2012150788 Moscow TASS in English 1416 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 20 TASS—Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who heads the Politburo commission supervising relief operations in Armenia, returned to Moscow from Yerevan today.

He was accompanied by two other members of the commission Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the party Central Committee, and Dmitriy Yazov, alternate member of the Politburo and defence minister of the USSR.

Yuriy Maslyukov, alternate member of the Politburo, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Committee of the USSR, arrived together with the commission members.

[Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1400 GMT on 20 December carries a shorter version of this report, adding the following: "They were met at the airport by Comrade Biryukova and Talyzin, candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; by Comrade Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee; and by Comrades Belousov, Vedernikov, and Silayev, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers."]

Damage Assessment, Clearing Efforts in Armenia

Agro-Industrial Damage Detailed

LD2112134388 Moscow TASS in English 1332 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Yerevan December 21 TASS—The damage inflicted on Armenia's agriculture by the recent earthquake amounts to some two billion roubles, Yevgeniy Sizenko, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Complex, told a press conference in Yerevan. He heads the sectoral centre for relief aid to the Armenian countryside.

Yevgeniy Sizenko said that many villages were destroyed in 14 districts of the republic, 58 of them obliterated completely. Huge numbers of people suffered, most survivers are without shelter. Serious damage was inflicted on the agricultural economy: 525 processing enterprises were put out of action, as were some 300 collective and state farms. About 10-15 per cent of all types of cattle were killed.

The relief centre of the agro-industrial complex took measures to rescue people from under the debris and to give them medical aid. The problem of reconstructing power grids and substations turned out to be more difficult. Every third stricken village still has no electricity. Mobile power plants were quickly dispatched. Questions of establishing telephone and telegraph inner and inter-city communications have not been settled completely. Medical services in the countryside are inadequate too. "We decided to put up warm tents and house medical equipment and personnel there for the time being," said Sizenko.

The responsible time of cattle wintering has set in. The main hope is on assistance from the agro-industrial complexes of union republics, noted the deputy chairman. According to a plan, each of them will give aid to a particular district or farm of the disaster zone. A total of 91 integrated mechanised groups each numbering 50-100 men have been formed. Each of them will have a full array of agricultural machinery and will operate on a self-supporting basis. In spring they will help local farms to till land and sow fields.

Batalin on Work Ahead

LD2112182088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] The first stage of eliminating the consequences of the natural calamity in Armenia is drawing to a close. Our special correspondents Yuriy Korotkov and Kuryun Khomaryan report.

[Korotkov] Another working session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission took place today. It was chaired by Yuriy Petrovich Batalin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Construction, who is remaining here to coordinate further work.

[Khomaryan] And there is a great deal of work indeed. Hundreds of railroad freight cars, aircraft, dozens of mobile cranes, bulldozers, and dump trucks are arriving in the disaster zone every day from all over the country. Mobile boiler rooms, prefabricated houses, insulated tents, yurts, clothes, building materials, and food are coming in. It is very important to unload all that quickly and to send it where it is most needed. Unfortunately, as was noted at the working session, the pace of unloading railroad cars has not reached the level planned for today. An average of 1,500 railroad cars are being processed daily, whereas it is highly necessary to unload 2,000 cars. This is nearly six times more than used to be unloaded before the earthquake.

[Korotkov] Such a pace is possible but additional labor and material resources are required for this. And it is very important to maintain this rhythm in the future, too, because it is high time to go over from emergency work to planned work in restoring the devastated towns and villages. Here is what Yuriy Petrovich Batalin said in conversation with us:

[Begin Batalin recording] The main bulk of the work still lies ahead. To complete the clearance of the rubble is a very important stage, and it has been scheduled for 26-28 December. We seem to have all the equipment for doing this. We are oversaturated with cranes, we have enough excavators, and now road transportation is the problem. We do not have enough time available for removing rubble by road vehicle, but we do have enough road vehicles now. As from today and tomorrow, we have 800 dump trucks. It is very difficult to concentrate such a huge number of technical equipment and transportation in a town. Jams have already occurred. Therefore, tomorrow morning in Leninakan the draft plans for carrying out operations, prepared by our institutes, and the routes will be examined, to decide how to intensify operations even more in such conditions, taking into account the use of additional means. This is the first stage. The second stage is to disassemble the houses. Disassemble is, perhaps, not the right word—we will be blasting them. And now various methods of conducting blasts are being tested. [end recording]

Commission Leader on Rebuilding

PM2112170388 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 21 Dec 88 p 6

[Interview with A. Krivov, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Architecture and chairman of the State Interdepartmental Commission for Urban Construction "currently operating in Armenia," by correspondents Yu. Kozlovskiy and N. Ordinyan: "New Cities Will Arise"; first paragraph is editorial introduction; date not given]

[Text] The earthquake-devastated regions will be restored anew. What will Leninakan, Spitak, and Kirovokan be like? A. Krivov, deputy chairman of the State

Committee for Architecture and chairman of the State Interdepartmental Commission for Urban Construction currently operating in Armenia, talks about this with our correspondents.

Yerevan—[Krivov] The commission began its work by evaluating the technical condition of the buildings that survived the earthquake. The country's best specialists in designing buildings in seismically active zones have been brought in for this. They are working out which buildings can be restored and which need to be strengthened. But a considerable proportion of the buildings will, of course, have to be demolished and cleared.

Relatively recent 6-9-story panel-frame blocks mostly suffered. It is possible that resonance phenomena played a certain role: The buildings's vibrations coincided with the earth tremors. Low-rise and some two-story buildings in Leninakan remained without a single crack. In general we consider that a whole number of factors were involved here. First, the seismic mapping figures used when designing proved lower than the real force of the earthquake. The quality of the construction also had an effect, of course. It is possible, after all, to build reliable dweellings in a seismically dangerous zone. Buildings put up in the fifties using the Armenian people's renowned "midis" bond withstood virtually everything in Leninakan.

[Correspondents] Aleksandr Sergeyevich, union republics, ministries, and departments will begin construction work straightaway in the first quarter of the new year. Where will it actually be carried out?

[Krivov] That is the main question for us. We will complete the relocation of victims in encampments and mobile homes—and it will then be necessary to begin major construction work. In selecting the area we take many factors—above all seismic safety—into account. In Leninakan two such sites have been envisaged for construction. One in the northwest, the other in the southeastern part of the city. Spitak, however, is sited on the actual joint of a fracture. It is necessary to build the city on a new spot.

It is more complex with Kirovokan. It is hemmed in by hills and stretches out for 15 km along a canyon. There is too little land to develop it. Here it will clearly be necessary to dispense with a number of production units and refrain, in particular, from developing new ones.

[Correspondents] What will be the basic construction material used to build the new cities?

[Krivov] The details and structures are primarily intended to resist maximum seismic activity. But they will be additionally strengthened. We plan to make wide use of local tuff. Buildings will be erected on layers of rock foundations.

[Correspondents] Are foreign specialists members of the commission determining the zone of new construction and the new city plans?

[Krivov] We have enough people of our own, but there have been such proposals. The Armenian community in France has offered us the help of architects and other specialists involved in town planning in such conditions. We will not object if they take part in our work.

[Correspondents] How much hoiusing is it planned to build using union republics' resources?

[Krivov] Around 2 million square meters in Leninakan alone. We are essentially talking about a new city. Armenian construction organizations will be mainly responsible for work in restoring and strengthening buildings. Extensive use will be made of new technical systems, the development of slab flanges [monolitnyye poyasy] and ties, and the strengthening of buildings with metal members where it proves necessary. And the following must definitely be stressed: If the structure of buildings has to be changed out of necessity, their external appearance will be restored to its former state.

Armenian architects are playing the most active part in planning. Creative teams for each center of population have been organized, and studies are being made of all the types of building that the republic is being offered. The height of buildings will be restricted to four stories. This is a general requirement.

Together with Armenian architects we will do everything to ensure that the cultural roots of national architecture are preserved. The suggested plans will be submitted for general discussion. A branch of the State Architectural Council, on which not only architects but representatives of all the republic's creative organizations will be represented, is being organized in Yerevan.

[Correspondents] What will be built first?

[Krivov] Kindergartens and schools. It is proposed to rebuild approaching 80 percent of children's establishments within a year. About half the housing will be built during the same period. These are absolutely realistic timetables.

Yerevan Warns of Faulty Gas System

NC2212133088 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Station announcement]

[Text] A large number of gas cylinders has been distributed in the towns and rural localities that have suffered from the earthquake and is being used for various purposes, including heating. Gas cylinders are being installed in nonsafe places, premises that have not been technically adapted, a situation which could lead to tragic consequences.

We appeal to all citizens in the disaster region to be particularly careful these days and to make sure that appliances and connections are in good condition and tightly sealed, and that all regulations are implemented. One should be especially careful when using gas geysers, since smoke and ventilation channels could have been damaged as a result of the earthquake.

In case gas appliances work unsatisfactorily or if the smoke and ventilation channels are not drawing properly, one should apply immediately to the regional gas bureau or to the volunteer fire department.

Ukraine Headquarters for Aid

AU2212113988 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 14 Dec 88 p 4

[RATAU report: "A Republic-Level Headquarters for Aid to Armenia Has Been Formed"]

[Text] To coordinate the aid to the Armenian SSR in eliminating the effects of the earthquake, the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers has created a republic-level headquarters headed by V.D. Gladush, Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, and staffed by leaders of the appropriate ministries, departments, party, trade union, and Komsomol organs, and public organizations.

To contact the headquarters, dial telephone numbers 293-21-05 and 293-06-06.

Iran Contributes Relief Aid

LD2112190788 Moscow TASS in English 1321 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Nicosia December 21 TASS—According to reports received here, Iran gave the Armenian quake victims cash and material assistance to the total sum of about one million U.S. dollars. The Armenian community in Iran donated 100,000 dollars to the aid fund.

Four transport planes were dispatched to Yerevan with (?medicines and) medical equipment, tents, blankets and other prime necessities. The first Iranian plane with relief aid was accompanied by representatives of the prime minister's office and two deputies of the Iranian parliament.

Karabakh Activists on Arrests, Recent Events

PM2112115988 London BBC Television Network in English 2230 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Report by BBC correspondent Julian O'Halloran on continued racial strife in Armenia incorporating statements by nationalist Armenian Supreme Soviet Deputy Ashot Manucharyan and Karabakh committee member Vano Sinaderyan, monitored in progress on the "Newsnight" program; no date given—recorded]

[Text] [O'Halloran] While Mr Gorbachev was viewing the destruction, away from the cameras, in Yerevan, a demonstration was broken up by troops and a number of leading nationalists detained for 30 days. Ashot Manucharyan had to be released because as a member of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, or parliament, he's immune from such detention.

[Manucharyan, in Armenian fading into English translation] The aim of the arrests was, first of all, to discredit the Armenian nationalist movement as much as possible. The Kremlin, taking advantage of the situation following the earthquake, had decided to crush the nationalist movement. We've met here secretly at the cemetery because recent events in Yerevan have meant that in effect our civil rights have been suspended.

[O'Halloran] Since that interview, one report says Mr Manucharyan has been in hiding; another says he's been rearrested. A member of the Karabakh committee who wasn't arrested alleges that the Soviet authorities exploited Armenian grief and shock after the earthquake.

[Sinaderyan, in Armenian fading into English translation; caption identifies clip as "amateur video"] There have been times in the past 10 months when Moscow has felt strongly that it could smash the nationalist movement. It did not dare to do so because the entire population of Armenia was all fired up and united. But now, Moscow is taking advantage of the confusion to strike a blow against Armenians. I can't recall another case in the history of the East or the West, when people of a country were beaten up in their own capital city on a day of national mourning.

[O'Halloran] However, as the grim reality of martial law sinks in, some Armenians we spoke to privately had their doubts about the wisdom of the nationalist leaders. They felt that some extreme criticisms of the earthquake relief operations had been an open invitation to the crackdown and the Soviet leaders' fury.

Estonia's Vyalyas Addresses Party Plenum

LD2112175388 Moscow TASS in English 1725 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Tallinn December 21 TASS—The Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party at its plenary meeting today discussed the results of the November, 1988 plenum of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and tasks of the republican party organisation on fulfilling its decisions.

Vayno Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Party Central Committee, made a report.

Consolidating all forces on the basis of directives of the 19th nationwide party conference was the chief task of the republican party organisation, speakers at the plenum said.

The plenary meeting endorsed a new structure of the republic's party apparatus and formed permanent commissions of the party Central Committee to tackle most important issues.

Shcherbitskiy Delivers Speech at Ukraine Plenum

AU2112160988 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 13 Dec 88 pp 1-2

[Speech by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, at the 12 December plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee in Kiev]

[Text] Comrades:

The decisions of the November (1988) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and of the extraordinary 12th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation are of great importance for the entire subject of restructuring and accelerating the socioeconomic development of the country. The USSR Supreme Soviet approved the program set forth in M.S. Gorbachev's report for the radical renewal of the country. The Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and the Law on the Election of USSR People's Deputies, laws that were adopted after a nationwide discussion, marked a big step in the first stage of the political reform. The decisions and the laws have also met with great interest in our republic. The numerous responses are evidence that the Ukraine's Communists and working people have approved the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee plenum and the Supreme Soviet.

The Supreme Soviet session confirmed the main point: The affirmation and guarantee of accomplishing the topical socioeconomic tasks lie in consolidating our multinational union state, and the unity and friendship among our country's peoples. There is no other way. And for this reason the Communists and working people in the Ukraine—and, I think, not only in the Ukraine—feel pain and anxiety in the face of all attempts, no matter by whom, to revise the initial fundamental principles of the Soviet federation, attempts that endanger our internationalist unity.

Comrades it is now obvious to us all that the political extremism manifested in some republics in its nationalist form—as you know, this was a topic discussed at the session—is absolutely incompatible with the normal development of the democratic process, and is directly detrimental to the entire undertaking of restructuring. In his conversation with the working people of Yerevan, M.S. Gorbachev, in adherence to principles analyzed, the events in Armenia and Azerbaijan, and drew conclusions from these events. For our multinational state we can see historic prospects not in weakening the federal links but, on the contrary, in strengthening them by means of a radical reform in the entire political system. For us a harmonious combination of the interest of every republic with the interests of the entire country is an unshakable, basic principle. And we consider that there are no grounds for revising it either from the political or from the economic perspective. On the contrary, the imperative of our times is to foster our unity and integration. For this reason it is now particularly important for everyone to realize the measure of one's historic responsibility for the destinies of our common home—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—and to do one's best to consolidate it on the basis of restructuring forces that are sound, and to harmonize relations between the center and the republics.

Our unity and friendship among the country's peoples have been and are being manifested with particular force at the sharp turning points of history, so to speak, under extreme conditions. This was the case in overcoming the effects of the accident at the Chernobyl AES.

Convincing evidence of this is provided by the support and aid given by both the center and by all the union republics to the population of the Armenian SSR, who are at present experiencing the tragic effects of the unprecedentedly strong earthquake. True to the laws of brotherhood among Soviet peoples, the Ukraine's working people are doing their utmost in every way possible to help the victims restore normal living conditions more rapidly. Mobile headquarters and working groups have been set up under the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers and in all oblasts, in order to organize aid to the victims.

According to current data, voluntary donations from our republic's labor collectives and citizens have already exceeded R14 million. Proceeds from subbotniks will also be used for the same purpose. The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo has revealed the possibility of paying R200,000, to the victims' fund, drawn from profits accumulated in economic activity by organizations under the administration of Central Committee Affairs. I am confident that the Central Committee members will approve this initiative. As in many other collectives, the personnel of the Central Committee apparatus have paid a day's earnings to the aid fund.

Drugs, blood supplies, necessary items, equipment, and construction materials are being shipped and flown to the affected areas. Some 20 medical assistance detachments, 4,500 specialists and workers, including rescuers, gas welders, and machine operators have already left various oblasts for the disaster area. The republic's ministry of power and electrification has sent an emergency train to fix up the Kirovakan heat and power plant. A special train, the "Komsomolets Ukrainy," will deliver volunteers to Armenia and will be able to evacuate 400 children.

The republic has already prepared 20,000 beds for medical assistance. Trade union sanatoriums and bases are ready to receive more than 27,000 persons. According to data supplied by oblispolkoms, the localities in the republics are already able to accommodate 12,000 families.

The entire country and many foreign states are now helping the people of Armenia who have suffered from the natural disaster.

Comrades: The impact of restructuring is growing, not only as concerns our society's development, but also with regard to the development of world events. Convincing evidence of this lies in the results of the talks conducted by M.S. Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders with politicians from many countries all over the world. In his speech to the United Nations, M.S. Gorbachev set forth our state's positions with regard to all the basic problems facing the international community, and the world public received this speech as further confirmation of the enterprising, peaceful, Soviet policy that meets the expectations of all peoples.

Guided by the defensive nature of the Soviet military doctrine and by the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defense, our state has adopted the decision to unilaterally reduce its Armed Forces and weapons, as well as other peaceful initiatives

Thus, under the impact of our restructuring, the new political thinking is gaining ground in the international arena.

Comrades: The paramount task of the republic's party and administrative organs is to take as guidance the materials of the CPSU Central Committee plenum and the USSR Supreme Soviet session, and to make full use of the emerging chances to widely engage the millions of people in the political process, in the practical accomplishment of the tasks set for restructuring. First of all, responsible work has to be done in connection with preparing and holding elections to the supreme organs of power, in conformity with the new law. It is important for every party organization to have a clear plan for work during the electoral campaign. Under conditions of complete democracy, it is essential to ensure the election of Communist and nonparty deputies who are able to represent their voters in a worthy way, and to defend the interests of the working people and the entire nation.

Comrades: The historic undertaking of restructuring that has been initiated by our party has to be constantly fostered with concrete positive results in all sectors that determine the acceleration of socioeconomic development. Precisely one such sector is capital construction. To take realistic steps, we must have a careful look at the correct, principled criticism and at a number of proposals made in the report and the speeches. This applies particularly to planning, material-technical supplies to construction, and ecological problems. To increase the effectiveness of capital construction means creating a reliable basis for an advance in the economy, in the social and the cultural spheres, and in all aspects of restructuring.

Let me briefly touch upon the tasks that are determinant for the effectiveness of outlays and returns from capital investments.

Point one; a qualitative improvement is needed in the very planning of capital construction. This need has been discussed many times. But the situation is changing slowly. And in the forthcoming year the number of projects for production purposes will exceed 42,000. And this means that the number of builders engaged at each of them will average 12-15. Thus, the faulty practice of dispersing forces, funds, and material resources is unfortunately continuing. And this means that ministries and departments continue to freeze enormous public resources within construction.

For this reason the Central Committee plenum has the right to demand the most resolute steps from the Gosplan, banks, and ministries and departments that are customers, in order to accomplish the very important task set by the 27th CPSU Congress of increasing the effectiveness of investments. For this purpose, it is essential to switch over from the practice of expanding production facilities to radically renewing them, and on this basis accelerate the development of both production and the social infrastructure.

Point two; a resolute improvement is needed in the quality of plans. After all, out of the 647 plans drafted and selectively checked in 1986-87, nearly half did not meet the present requirements with regard to the technical level. Great errors in the selection of technologies, in planning, and other mistakes are being revealed, even after projects have been commissioned. As a result of this, enterprises put into operation are unable to reach their planned capacity on schedule, and this has become a real plight.

Last year, for example, new capacities were put into operation at the "Kommunar" motor vehicle plant in Zaporozhye. But, because of the technological errors, production fell short of the target by several tens of thousands of automobiles of the new "Tavriya" model, and in commodity turnover this amounted to a loss of R90 million. Unfortunately, the list of such cases is long. For this reason, the republic's Gosstroy must tighten up the examination of projects by experts. Local soviets also have to join in this work more actively. As early as during the planning stage, particular attention has to be paid to dealing with the tasks of environmental protection and of using natural resources rationally.

Point three; it is essential, at long last, to earnestly get down to consolidating and developing the production base of capital construction. Quite a few programs and decisions have been adopted on this important issue.

Unfortunately, construction ministries—the ministry of construction, the Ukrainian SSR Committee for Agrarian Construction [Ukragrostroy], and the ministry of installation and special construction—show insufficient energy in implementing these programs and decisions. Neither have local soviets risen to the occasion. For example, allocations for the construction of plants for large-panel house construction in Lvov, Donetsk, Voroshilovgrad, and Zhdanov are being only 80-95 percent utilized.

The situation in the construction materials industry is most disturbing. A significant proportion of the fixed assets in this branch have become obsolete. But the branch chronically falls short of the targets for the construction of new facilities. It is high time for the council of ministers to bring Comrades A.T. Shevchenko, V.P. Salo, and A.R. Shtundel to account for this. With regard to this issue, some oblispolkoms and obkoms also seem to have assumed the position of impartial onlookers. Thus, in the last 7 years Donetsk Oblast, in which the shortage of local construction materials is particularly acute, did not even fulfill the plan for construction in this branch one single time. The construction of such facilities is also unsatisfactory in Odessa, Voroshilovgrad, and Kiev Oblasts. As regards the party organizations within the appropriate trusts and enterprises, their influence on the situation is obviously inadequate. It goes without saying that this matter has to be amended with all urgency.

And here is another point. The October (1988) Plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee noted the need to implement joint programs worked out by urban and rural labor collectives to rapidly settle the food problem. And in this respect there is a great deal to do with regard to the building organizations. In practice, however, things are going the opposite way. Year in, year out, the chief contractors in the countryside—the organizations of the Ukrainian SSR Committee for Agrarian Construction—increasingly dedicate themselves to the construction of urban facilities to process and store farm produce. But why should their construction not be given to the republic's ministry of construction, which is more experienced in this respect and possesses a strong base for this purpose? In this case, rural builders would be able to build more facilities at kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Comrades Yu.A. Kolomiyets, V.Z. Borisovskiy, V.I. Cherep, and V.I. Ananyev should examine this question without delay and submit appropriate proposals to the council of ministers presidium.

And now, comrades, let me briefly touch upon the results expected from the work we did in the 3 years of the 5-year period. An important result of this period lies in the fact that the economic methods of management have strengthened, economic accountability has intensified, and the application of leasing and contracting to families has expanded. All this has also contributed toward a certain progress in increasing the effectiveness of the national economy.

The average annual rates of increasing the national income in 1987 and 1988 will have exceeded those in the preceding 5-year period 1.2 times. As a result of the more active application of intensive factors, the entire increase in the national income, in industrial and agricultural production, and in construction has been obtained through increased labor productivity.

We still have not done our best to reduce material consumption in production, but even what we have done will make it possible to save resources worth R3.3 billion, and this will be 33 percent more than what was targeted and obtained in the entire 11th 5-year period. For the first time in the last three 5-year periods, the sinking trend in returns from outlays has been checked. We have also managed to obtain favorable results in a number of important branches of the fuel and power, and the agro-industrial complexes.

Analysis shows that more significant achievements have been attained by enterprises applying the second model of economic accountability, the collective contracting model. What is particularly important is the fact that they are better in fulfilling contracts for deliveries. Their rates of increasing the volumes of production, labor productivity, and high-quality products are 2-3 times higher than at other enterprises.

Favorable changes have also become visible in the social sphere. In the 3 years of the 5-year period, we have built 1.2 million apartments, including about 200,000 in excess of the plan. The 5-year targets for the construction of schools, preschool and medical establishments, and cultural facilities have been exceeded. The volumes of the production of consumer goods and of payable services to the population have expanded.

At the same time, we must not flatter ourselves about what has been done. Some important 5-year targets have not been fully met. Moreover, the situation that has emerged in some branches is very unfavorable. This applies first of all to machine building that is expected to develop at priority rates. Machine building branches will have fallen short of the 3-year production targets to the tune of about R1.5 billion. In the current year, production volumes have dropped at every fourth enterprise in Voroshilovgrad, Dnepropetrovsk, Kiev, Nikolayev, and Kharkov Oblasts. New machines and equipment continue to be only slightly more productive than their predecessors. This has a negative impact on the effectiveness of the economy, increases the share of material and power consumption, and reduces the share of science in the national income.

Many economic leaders have viewed their increased rights and independence as a chance to work less intensely, and to obtain additional profits by means of pricing. Just judge for yourselves. In the current year, the volume of production in the machine building complex has increased 7.1 percent, prime costs have dropped 1.1 percent, while profits have risen 11.6 percent. In other

words, groundless overcharging is responsible for one-third of the profits. Unfortunately, this foul practice does not meet with party-like disapproval in the field.

In a number of national economic branches in the republic the financial situation also continues to be complex. In the current year, more than 1,700 enterprises and organizations have been operating at a loss. Comrades, it is essential to get down to this business, as they say, in earnest, and to see to it that all enterprises are profitable in the immediate future, even if unprofitable enterprises have to change production, have to be leased out, or even have to close down.

Let me say a few words about pressing tasks in the agroindustrial complex. At the conference in Orel Oblast it was emphasized once again that the most effective way to settle the food problem was to restructure economic relations in the countryside, to broadly apply economic accountability, cooperation, and contracting, particularly leasing, as well as to radically change the attitude toward the social development of the village. The work aimed at improving the economic mechanism in the agroindustrial complex continues. Having taken into account the recommendations made, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo approved an appropriate plan.

In the current year, contracting under leasing has been applied in almost half of the republic's farms (47 percent). The lessees have taken over 16 percent of arable lands (more than 5 million hectares), and 10 percent of livestock. And the share of those that come under various forms of contracting has reached 85 percent of the total work force engaged in crop growing and stockbreeding.

In conformity with the comprehensive program for social reform in villages, allocations for this purpose in the current year have exceeded R1.8 billion, or more than twice as much as the annual average in the preceding 5-year period.

The proportion of outlays in non-production construction has increased from 14 to 24 percent.

What has to be attended to at present?

Above all, it is essential to sum up the work carried out by lessees in 1988, and to organize training in the winter season for all leading cadres and specialists, including party and administrative officials. Efforts to restructure economic relations in the countryside have to be speeded up in all oblasts and rayons, and particular attention has to be paid to the measures drawn up to significantly increase production and to improve the quality of foodstuffs, as well as to raise the profitability of enterprises.

Moreover, as you know, the situation emerging at many farms this year with regard to fodder, particularly concentrated fodder, seems to be strained. Livestock productivity and the output and procurements of produce have already declined here and there. This is why every labor collective is expected to work in an active and businesslike manner to accomplish the tasks for stock wintering that were set in the CPSU Central Committee's letter.

Comrades: As far as the 1989 plan for the republic's economic and social development is concerned, it was discussed in detail and critically at the supreme soviet session. Let me mention just some of its features.

Point one; next year the material results of restructuring have to be made more palpable for the people, and the social orientation of communal production has to be intensified.

It is to be borne in mind that the resources available and even the existing conditions are still not suitable for quickly settling quite a few problems. This applies to some ecological problems which have at present acquired a sharp political significance. It is known that to settle environmental protection problems one needs not only enormous funds, but also time. In the current 5-year period, state capital allocations for ecological measures in the republic will exceed R2.2 billion, and in the next 5-year period outlays for this purpose will increase even more. And whenever the civil conscience of some leaders fails in the settling of ecological problems, party and administrative organs are also expected to make use of their power.

To better inform people about the progress made in economic reform, including improvements in ecological conditions, it is expedient to establish permanent press centers under the council of ministers.

Point two; in 1989 all production branches in the national economy are scheduled to switch over to economic accountability and self-financing. In quite a few cases, the attitude adopted in the republic toward the accomplishment of this task has been exemplary. Both these cases and the working experience of the basic party organizations and labor collectives acting under self-government conditions are to be studied, made generaly relevant, and disseminated. In enhancing economic interest, it is also essential to create stable labor collectives in all branches. This will largely determine the success of economic reform.

Last but not least, the coming year should be remarkable for the efforts made to save resources, because the scarcity of a number of resources has preordained the need to form planned targets on the basis of a more effective utilization of reserves. We should bear in mind that the course and results of fulfilling the 1989 plan will undoubtedly have a decisive impact on both the indexes of the entire 5-year period and on the conditions in

which the 13th 5-year plan will be shaped. It goes without saying that our entire work has to be guided by the idea that, in accomplishing the tasks at the republic level, we should always bear in mind the interests of our single union state. In particular, our plans must take into account the significant volume of construction work that has to be carried out in the Armenian SSR.

Comrades: The serious changes in the functions of party organs have provided conditions for strengthening party influence in all fields of public life. It goes without saying that for this purpose it is essential to overcome many habits and stereotypes that have been formed over many years, and to develop qualitatively new attitudes. Perfecting the party leadership in various fields of public life is closely linked with boosting the role of elective organs. In this plane, we also see the formation of the Central Committee commissions for the main sectors of work. The commissions were formed at the last plenum, and today we are supposed to examine their composition in terms of personnel. Along with other measures, this will help ensure the precedence of the elective organ over the apparatus. To invigorate the entire internal party life, we have to make use of the rich materials produced by the accountability and election campaign in party organizations.

What conclusions from this campaign seem to be the most important?

—We have every reason to note the increased political maturity and activity of the Communists, their firm resolve to implement the directives of the 19th all-union party conference.

—At most meetings and conferences the atmosphere was remarkable due to a greater adherence to principle, exactingness, and openness than hitherto, the sharper criticism, a boldness in formulating issues, and more constructive proposals.

—In forming the elective organs, democratic principles are being complied with more widely and consistently.

—The question of who will spearhead the party organizations in the future has aroused great interest everywhere.

Obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms are expected to make a profound and thorough analysis of the results of the accountability and election meetings and conferences, and to draw conclusions for practical activity.

In this context, I would like to emphasize the importance of pertinent and purposeful training for party functionaries and aktivists, above all for those elected for the first time. This involves many people, comrades. For example, in this republic we have elected for the first time 33,500 group party organizers, more than 26,000 secretaries of shop party organizations, and about 22,000 secretaries of basic party organizations. They must be taught not only the rudiments of party work; they have to be provided with practical experience, accumulated in the process of restructuring. In the immediate future the Central Committee intends to organize training for newly elected raykom secretaries to take place at the Kiev and Odessa higher party schools.

You can see, Comrades, the enormous scope of the highly important work which we have to carry out as soon as possible in the process of restructuring and renewal in all sectors. After all, only concrete deeds are and will be determinant for the practical nature of restructuring. This is why the need for maximal responsibility for the matter at hand, a high level of awareness, and discipline is now greater than ever.

What matters most now is to strengthen the ideological basis and, without any delay, accomplish all the tasks connected with completing the first stage of the political and economic reform.

We are confident that the Communists of the Ukraine will do their utmost to accomplish these responsible tasks.

Party Commissions Established in Ukraine

AU2212120188 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 14 Dec 88 pp 1, 3

["Decision of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum on the Commissions of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] 1. The Commissions of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee are to be approved in the following composition:

The Commission for the Problems of Organizational Party and Cadre Work

Commission chairman: V.A. Ivashko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and second secretary.

Commission members: V.S. Burlay, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee candidate member and director of the Radio and Telegraph Agency of the Ukraine (RATAU); A.Ya. Vinnik, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and Donetsk obkom first secretary; V.M. Gayevoy, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and chairman of the Party Control Commission under the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; L.I. Gerus, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and weaver at the 26th CPSU Congress cotton combine in Kherson; I.P. Grushchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and rector of the Kiev Higher Party School; V.V. Yevsyukov, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and party committee secretary at the S.M. Kirov metallurgical combine in Makeyevka; A.Ye. Kiva,

Ukrainian Communist Party Auditing Commission member and Poltava gorkom first secretary; A.I. Korniyenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and chief of the Organizational Party and Cadre Work Department in the Central Committee; I.A. Lyakhov, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and Voroshilovgrad obkom first secretary; K.I. Masik, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and Kiev gorkom first secretary; P.K. Musiyenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and chief of the General Department in the Central Committee; L.L. Nikiforov, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and general director of the S.P. Korolev production association in Kiev; N.G. Omelchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and Dnepropetrovsk gorkom first secretary; A.N. Popernyak, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee candidate member and Khmelnitskiy oblispolkom chairman; K.K. Prodan, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and administrator of the Central Committee affairs; A.A. Ruzhitskiy, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee candidate member and Cherkassy obkom secretary; N.M. Sandulyak, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee candidate member and chairman of the Shevchenko kolkhoz in Vizhnitskiy Rayon, Chernovtsy Oblast; V.F. Sklyarov, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and Ukrainian SSR minister of power and electrification; V.G. Sotnichenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and Nosovskiy Raykom first secretary in Chernigov Oblast; V.I. Trefilov, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and vice president of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences; G.P. Kharchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and Zaporozhye obkom first secretary; and V.R. Shvets, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and Kagarlykskiy Raykom first secretary.

The Ideological Commission

Commission chairman: Yu.N. Yelchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and secretary.

Commission members: V.K. Vrublevskiy, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and assistant to the Central Committee first secretary; N.M. Golushko, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Security Committee; S.V. Danchenko, USSR people's artist, chairman of the board of the Ukrainian Theater Figures Union; G.A. Dubenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Auditing Commission member and Kazatinskiy Raykom first secretary in Vinnitsa Oblast; V.G. Ignatov, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and Donetsk gorkom first secretary; Yu.Yu. Kondufor, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and director of the History Institute of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences; V.A. Kravets, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and Ukrainian SSR minister of foreign affairs; L.M. Kravchuk, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and chief of the Ideological Department in the Central Committee; Yu.A. Olenenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and Ukrainian SSR minister of culture; M.A. Orlik, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman; V.Ye. Ostrozhinskiy, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee deputy member and Ternopol obkom first secretary;

N.F. Okhmakevich, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee candidate member and chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting; B.Ye. Paton, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member, president of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, and director of the Ye.O. Paton Arc Welding Institute; F.M. Rudich, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and director of the Institute of the History of the Party—a branch of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CPSU Central Committee; V.V. Skopenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member, vice president of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, and rector of the T.G. Shevchenko State University in Kiev; V.Ya. Stadnichenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Auditing Commission member and editor of the newspaper RADYANSKA UKRAINA; M.V. Fomenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and Ukrainian SSR minister of public education; V.I. Tsybukh, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee first secretary; L.G. Sharayev, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and Nikolayev obkom first secretary; V.I. Shinkaruk, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee candidate member, chairman of the board of the Ukrainian SSR "Knowledge" society, and director of the Philosophy Institute of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences; and A.N. Shlepakov, Ukrainian Communist Party Auditing Commission member and director of the Institute for Social and Economic Problems in Foreign Countries under the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences.

The Commission for Social and Economic Development Problems

Commission chairman: B.V. Kachura, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and secretary.

Deputy chairman: S.I. Gurenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and secretary.

Commission members: V.Z. Borisovskiy, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman; A.A. Bugayets, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and general director of the Kharkov "S.M. Kirov Turbine Plant" production association for the construction of atomic turbines; I.I. Bushma, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and

assemblers team leader in construction and assembly administration No 3 of housing construction combine No 1 under the main Kiev city construction trust; N.K. Zadoya, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and Dnepropetrovsk obkom second secretary; Ye.V. Kachalovskiy, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman; S.I. Korneva, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee candidate member and director of the "Kiyevlyanka" base experimental garments factory in Kiev; V.D. Kryuchkov, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and department chief in the Central Committee; V.G. Kucherenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and Donetsk oblispolkom chairman; I.I. Lukinov, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and vice president of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences; G.D. Maksimenko, chief editor of the journal POD ZNAMENEM LENINIZMA; D.G. Nedashkovskiy, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Committee on Prices; A.P. Nekhayevskiy, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and Vinnitsa obkom first secretary; K.G. Nosov, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and director of the V.I. Lenin "Krivorozhstal" metallurgical combine in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast; N.A. Panteleyev, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and chairman of the Ukrainian State Committee for Labor and Social Problems; V.A. Pereloma, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and assistant to the Central Committee first secretary; A.P. Savchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and chief of the Social and Economic Department in the Central Committee; A.M. Serdyuk, Ukrainian SSR first deputy minister of health; V.A. Sologub, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and chairman of the Ukrainian Trade Unions Council; A.S. Statinov, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and Ukrainian SSR minister of trade; N.S. Surgay, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and chief of the Donetsk main territorial administration for the coal industry and the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry; V.G. Urchukin, Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman; V.P. Fokin, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member, Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, and Gosplan chairman; V.A. Shevchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and Sumy obkom first secretary.

The Commission for the Problems of the Agro-Industrial Complex

Commission chairman: I.G. Grintsov, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committe member and secretary.

Commission members: G.S. Bereza, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and link leader at the Dzerzhinskiy kolkhoz in Lutskiy Rayon, Volyn Oblast; G.M. Grinchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee candidate member and director of the "Sovki" sovkhoz in Kievo-Svyatoshinskiy Rayon, Kiev Oblast; V.V. Demyanov, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and Zaporozhue oblispolkom chairman; I.A. Zabrodim, Ukrainian SSR minister of finance; V.P. Zernitskiy, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and party committe secretary in the Ukrainian State Agro-Industrial Committee; V.M. Kavun, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and Zhitomir obkom first secretary; I.F. Kalantay, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and Kharkov obkom secretary; O.G. Kirichko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and director of the interfarm enterprise for beef production in Kobelyakskiy Rayon, Poltava Oblast; V.A. Koryushin, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and assistant to the Central Committee first secretary; V.P. Koverets, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and Novomoskovskiy Raykom first secretary in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast; Yu.A. Kolomiyets, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member, Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman, and chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee; M.M. Kushnerenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Auditing Commission member and Kherson obkom first secretary; Z.Ya. Lozhovskaya, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee candidate member and chairman of the "Serp i Molot" kolkhoz in Zolochevskiy Rayon, Lvov Oblast; A.S. Maselskiy, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and Kharkov oblispolkom chairman; A.S. Myakota, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee candidate member and Poltava Obkom first secretary; L.I. Palazhchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee candidate member and Chernigov obkom first secretary; N.I. Samilyk, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and Kirovograd obkom first secretary; A.A. Sozinov, chairman of the presidium of the southern branch of the Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences and deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee; I.V. Spodarenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Auditing Commission member and editor of the newspaper SILSKI VISTI; V.M. Teryanik, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and milkmaid at the "Komintern" kolkhoz in Nedrigaylovskiy Rayon, Sumy Oblast; V.N. Tkach, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee candidate member and Ukrainian SSR minister of land reclamation and water resources; Ye.R. Chulakov, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee candidate member and chief of the Agrarian Department in the Central Committee.

The Commission for Constitutional Law Problems

Commission chairman: A.S. Chumak, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and chief of the Constitutional Law Department in the Central Committee.

Commission members: N.T. Aleksa, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee candidate member, administration chief—chief of the interior troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs for the Ukrainian SSR and the Moldavian SSR; I.D. Gladush, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and Ukrainian SSR minister of internal affairs; A.I. Goryainov, Ukrainian Communist Party Auditing Commission member and general director of the Kremenchug association for the production of heavy trucks (Avtokraz) in Poltava Oblast; V.G. Dikusarov, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and Khmelnitskiy obkom first secretary; S.S. Yevtushenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee candidate member and secretary of the Ukrainian Trade Unions Council; V.M. Yevtushenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and first deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Security Committee; V.A. Zgurskiy, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and Kiev gorispolkom chairman; M.I. Kirey, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee candidate member and Lvov oblispolkom chairman; G.K. Kryuchkov, Odessa obkom first secretary; A.P. Makartsov, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and cutting team leader in mining administration No 2 under the "Krasnodonshakhtostroy" trust in Krasnodon, Voroshilovgrad Oblast; Ye.N. Makhov, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee candidate member, member of the Military Council, and chief of the Political Directorate in the Subcarpathian Military District, the city of Lvov;

A.V. Merzlenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and chairman of the Ukrainian SSR People's Control Committee; A.V. Myalovitskiy, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee candidate member and chief editor of the journal KOMMUNIST UKRAINY; S.G. Okopnyy, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee candidate member and Voroshilovgrad obkom secretary; P.G. Osipenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and Ukrainian SSR procurator; I.S. Plyushch, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and Kiev oblispolkom chairman; S.A. Stezhko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee member and Krivoy Rog gorkom secretary in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast; S.A. Tislitskaya, Ukrainian Communist Party Auditing Commission member and chairman of the "Podillya" agrofirm-kolkhoz in Ternopolskiy Rayon, Ternopol Oblast; and N.G. Khomenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee candidate member and Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium secretary.

2. The Central Committee plenum holds that the most important tasks of the Central Committee commissions are: to study major internal party, cadre, ideological, socioeconomic, agrarian, and other problems; to examine the situation in party organizations; to scrutinize the progress made in implementing party decisions; to generalize positive experience; and to prepare for the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee proposals on how to perfect party leadership in various spheres of the economy and of the republic's social and political life.

The Central Committee commissions submit draft documents and analytical materials to the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo for examination at Politburo sessions or Central Committee plenums; elaborate for party organizations and committees practical organizational and ideological recommendations concerning socioeconomic and political tasks, and, with the authorization of the Central Committee Politburo, pass them on to party organizations.

The commissions actively engage in this work Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee members and candidate members, as well as Auditing Commission members; if needed, they set up working groups with the participation of party aktivists, prominent scientists, and public figures.

The commissions coordinate their work plans with those of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat. They hold their sessions whenever they are expedient, but not less frequently than once in 3 months.

3. Editorial boards of party newspapers and journals, RATAU, and the Ukrainian SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting are commissioned to efficiently and thoroughly explain the activity of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee commissions.

Latvian People's Forum Appeal Published

PM2112160988 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 13 Dec 88 pp 1, 3

["Appeal of Forum of Latvian SSR Peoples to All Peoples of Soviet Latvia"—SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA headline]

[Text] Esteemed fellow citizens!

Comrades!

The course toward restructuring and the democratization of society initiated by the CPSU is supported by the entire people. It is promoting the democratization of interethnic relations and the growth of national self-awareness.

We, the representatives of the peoples of Soviet Latvia, are united by our common concern for the welfare and prosperity of our common home. We are united in believing that

—Latvia should develop within the USSR as a sovereign republic, and not only should its rights be proclaimed by the USSR Constitution, but the inclusion of the necessary legal mechanisms in the constitution should be ensured for the real implementation of these rights.

—The struggle for democratization and the humanist values of genuine socialism proclaimed by the CPSU is the only path for our society's development: There is not and cannot be a return to the times of Stalin's lawlessness and Brezhnev's stagnation. In this connection the Forum of Latvian SSR peoples supports the desires of illegally deported people to return to their motherland, and does not remove from the agenda the question of restoring national-state formations which used to exist.

—Only mutual concern for each other on the part of each people and ethnic group can be the sole firm basis for satisfying and implementing the rights and needs of each people, and for creating an atmosphere of mutual understanding and respect for the national feelings and human dignity of all fellow citizens. Relations between people should be based on the principles of humanism, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed by the United Nations, and the Final Act of the 1975 Helsinki conference.

—A number of problems of Soviet Latvia's existence and development can be resolved only by the joint efforts of all Soviet peoples and republics with a consideration for the legitimate interests both of each people and region and of the USSR as a whole (the fundamental restructuring of the economy, the creation of the legislative foundations for a federation of sovereign republics, ecological problems, the safeguarding of peace in Europe and in the world, and so forth).

In defending its sovereignty, Soviet Latvia does not lay claim to rights or benefits at the expense of the legitimate interests of other republics or of the USSR as a whole.

—Latvia is the fatherland of the Lettish people, the only place in the world where they can live and develop their language and culture. Promoting this development is not only a matter for every Lett but also the international duty of all inhabitants of the republic.

At the same time the development of the culture of all peoples and national groups living in Latvia is an important condition for the development of the culture of the Lettish people and the improvement of interethnic relations. We must do everything to support and consolidate the tradition of the living and fruitful cooperation and mutual enrichment of the different national cultures so characteristic of Latvia as a whole.

Through joint efforts legal guarantees must be created for the cultural initiatives of all peoples and ethnic groups living in the republic to ensure their cultural autonomy, including the cultural initiatives and efforts of the Letts of Latgale [historically Eastern Latvia] to create a modern infrastructure in Latgale.

The cultural initiatives aimed at preserving the language and traditions of the most ancient inhabitants of Latvia—the Livonians; they must not be allowed to disappear completely.

—The radical restriction of the mechanical growth of the republic's population must be viewed as an emergency measure necessary both from the viewpoint of the Lettish people's national interests and for the solution of the social problems of all inhabitants of the republic, including the housing, food, and ecological problems. This fully accords with the interests of the entire USSR, for it places an obstacle to the extensive development of the economy and promotes the intensification of production and, by strengthening the republic, strengthens the USSR.

—The recognition of the Lettish language as the republic's state language creates the legal basis for its normal development and equal functioning in all spheres of life, including the official and working spheres. But this legal act should not be used to drive out the RUssian language as the language of interethnic communication, or for any discrimination against citizens who do not know the state language, above all in cases where they appeal to state and medical institutions and also in public transport, trade, the services sphere, and so forth.

To improve mutual understanding between the peoples it is extremely desirable that all inhabitants of Latvia should know both Lettish and Russian; and for workers in organs of state power and management, health, trade, public transport, consumer services, and the militia, who by virtue of their job have direct contact with people, knowledge of both languages is an essential condition for their proper fulfillment of their official obligations. The mastering of the Lettish (and correspondingly of the Russian) language by the above-mentioned categories of workers should be a component part of the improvement of their qualifications and should be at the expense of the enterprise or institution. Material incentives to a knowledge of both languages are desirable.

The reciprocal provision of information to audiences of different languages is one way to better mutual understanding, in connection with which it is expedient to publish in Russian a weekly bulletin of translations of the most topical items in the Lettish press and to have a simultaneous translation of popular sociopolitical television and radio broadcasts.

—The proposed law on citizenship of the republic, like any law of the rule-of-law state, should defend human rights and cannot have retroactive effect. It should proceed from the premise that all citizens of the USSR who are permanent residents of the republic on the day the law comes into force are recognized as citizens of the republic.

—For all citizens of the republic the most important criterion of restructuring is the assertion of social justice and the condition for ensuring it is glasnost: Its level in very important questions like the real distribution of

social benefits—housing, food, consumer goods, medicines, medical services, and so forth—is blatantly inadequate right now. This situation can no longer be tolerated.

—It is essential to consistently restore and defend the Leninist principles of the nationalities policy of the CPSU and Soviet state, to consolidate all social forces, to create an atmosphere of friendly and harmonious work in the labor collectives, and to achieve the unity of word and deed.

In expressing our attitude toward the nature of the sociopolitical situation in the republic, and noting positive qualitative advances in it, we cannot tolerate the actions of the opponents of restructuring, who are trying to generate people's distrust and hostility in interethnic relations.

We urge everyone, and above all leaders and workers in the mass media and teachers, to be aware of the extent to which their activity determines interethnic relations: You must always be the expressers and guardians of mutual understanding and tolerance between people and peoples.

Esteemed fellow citizens!

The forum will have justified its function if it does not end with the ending of its work, if it is continued in families and labor collectives, in newspapers and radio and television broadcasts, if the interethnic dialogue initiated at the Forum is continued in daily life, in our concern for our common home—Soviet Latvia.

Georgian Oblast Holds Party Conference

NC2212071888 Tbilisi Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] The delegates of the 39th conference of the Adzhar Oblast organization of the Georgian Communist Party have brought to their forum all the problems that currently concern the working people of the autonomous republic. The problems, of course, are not few. Many interesting alternative approaches to their solution emerged during the preliminary debates on the performance report, at which the delegates conducted a businesslike dialogue.

It was noted that the process of democratization in the oblast party organization is being consolidated even more widely and has found concrete expression in the cadre policy. At the same time, party guidance of the economy and the social and cultural life of the autonomous republic, as well as practical work on restructuring, still does not respond to the needs of the day. The housing problem is acute, the level of the development of trade and consumer services is low, and ecological problems have become the subjects of concerned discussions. All these problems are waiting to be solved.

The conference was addressed by Patiashvili, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee.

The newly elected Adzhar obkom of the Georgian Communist Party has also held its first plenum. Comrade Emiridze was elected first secretary of the obkom. (Lobara) was elected second secretary and Dumbadze and (Akhtva) were elected secretaries.

IZVESTIYA Rebuts Criticism of Article

PM2212112188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Letter from artist Ilya Glazunov and reply from IZVESTIYA editorial board under general heading: "Complaints for Export and for Domestic Consumption"; first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] After the article "Glasnost for Export..." by our Madrid correspondent (issue No 309), the editorial office received a visit from artist I.S. Glazunov demanding that we publish his letter in response to the IZVESTIYA article. We publish the letter in full—with what in our view is a necessary commentary.

Letter to the Editorial Office

When I opened the 3 November issue of IZVESTIYA, like V. Vernikov, IZVESTIYA's Madrid correspondent, I could not believe my eyes. Well, your correspondent and your esteemed newspaper could not print such a thing. But he could, and you could.

The actual method by which the tape recording was obtained (violating all norms of international journalistic ethics)—a tape which, the editorial office says, it was "kindly given" by "Spanish colleagues"—and the fact that it was listened to and dispatched to Moscow recall the not-so-distant past so denounced by us today. But even if the IZVESTIYA editorial office staffers had heard everything with which they acquainted readers, why did they trust a dubious tape and not me, when I openly express my views in the Soviet and foreign press and in numerous public statements at meetings with my audience? Those who printed the article in IZVESTIYA, "having listened carefully to my tape three times," did not find time to read with the same attention even once an interview of mine published in the newspaper ABC. It is hard to understand why the IZVESTIYA editorial office, having received the tape, did not invite me to hear it so that I could share their surprise. It is also strange that IZVESTIYA's own correspondent, having managed to take a look even at the Leningrad newspaper MONITOR in Spain (he cites the newspaper in his article) did not find time in Madrid to meet with me and the group of young art students who visited for creative purposes the Spain we love, where great geniuses of mankind—Velasquez, El Greco, Zurbaran, Cervantes, Calderon, and many others—have worked. Many lines in ABC were devoted to this visit, but there was not a word from

Vernikov. But his task was a different one—to expose Glazunov who, according to Vernikov, is preaching "the collapse of Marxism-Leninism" and allegedly sees the gist of restructuring in just that.

So Vernikov, an employee of the organ of the USSR soviets of people's deputies, using his official position, has perpetrated a forgery. How and why this happened will soon be explained. My interview in ABC 29 September has nothing in common with the information of IZVESTIYA's correspondent in Madrid apart from a few quotations whose meaning has been distorted out of recognition. There is nothing there about masons, nothing about Buddhism, nothing about Picasso's "Guernica," about commissars, about Stolypin, about Lev Tolstoy, or about much of anything else which resulted in "Vernikov not believing his own eyes." And it is clear—eyes cannot hear. But they can see! So why did the IZVESTIYA correspondent need to falsify what was written in black and white?

I have not heard "a certain tape" of my conversation with the ABC correspondent and have no idea what kind of tape it is and what "colleagues" concocted it. I concede that the text of a free conversation can, if so desired, be prepared as you choose, and some journalists are great masters in this respect. They know exactly where and when to place the words "allegedly," "so-called," "pseudo," and so forth. Yes, a few phrases taken out of context can create an impression of ambivalence and inaccuracy in the reader.

And I must mention one other thing. The well-known party document which repealed the CPSU Central Committee 1946 resolution denounced the practice of sticking political labels on cultural figures. Many people with whom I have met in the past few days at my Leningrad exhibition believe that the IZVESTIYA article is a relapse into Zhdanovism.

It is precisely such "exposes" and "actions" which in distant and recent years have forced many of our cultural figures to leave the country (something which we now regret so much) and created an intolerable atmosphere of persecution and slanderous insults.

We do not now live in times when people's fate is decided by denunciation. The misinformation which was published is, to put it mildly, disrespect toward not only myself but toward all IZVESTIYA readers.

I am not used to saying one thing at home and another when I am visiting. All my life I have defended my principles, I say what I feel and think, and I have never traded off my conscience.

The truth is that neither in Madrid nor Moscow have I read or signed such an interview. IZVESTIYA's correspondent in Madrid, having misled the editorial office which we hold in esteem, has informed many millions of readers of his fabrications. I want to add that the Russian word "inform" ["donesti"] also has another meaning. So look at what you are saying when you inform, and against whom....

Esteemed editorial office! I hope that under the conditions of democracy and glasnost ("if you want glasnost, then let's have it!") you will print my letter. Moreover, I am ready to visit you and say all this on a tape which you can use as the text of an article after my approval, of course.

[Signed] Ilya Glazunov, people's artist of the USSR, corresponding member of the San Fernando Spanish Royal Academy of Fine Art and the San Jorge Catalonian Royal Academy of Fine Art

From the Editorial Office

So "if we're going to have glasnost, let's have it." But if you want the truth, then let's have it. And, in pursuing the truth, we cannot apologize to I.S. Glazunov. We should like immediately to draw attention to the tone of the letter which, as we will see below, is totally without substantiation. Indeed, let readers themselves judge the language and vocabulary of the letter and the labels to which its author resorts.

There might be no need to dwell on the theses concerning our correspondent's "forgeries" and the "quotations distorted out of recognition"—they were all checked against the recording of the interview, including those printed in ABC, and the transcription of this recording was presented to Ilya Sergeyevich at the editorial office.

Incidentally, about certain perfidious "methods of getting hold of" this tape. Having read I.S. Glazunov's interview in ABC, our Madrid correspondent V. Vernikov, doubting that the artist really could have said anything of the kind, turned to the Spanish journalist for explanations: Was there not some unfair juggling here discrediting I.S. Glazunov? Or, as ABC itself commented on this point, "...V. Vernikov kindly asked us if he could listen to and obtain the tape recording **with a view to writing an article in the artist's defense...**" That is all there is to the "perfidious design." What violation of "international journalistic ethics" can there be?

As for the artist's doubts as to the authenticity of the recording, this could be treated seriously were it not for one circumstance. On 9 November (5 days after the IZVESTIYA item) ABC published a letter from I.S. Glazunov with complaints, against the Spanish newspaper this time. These complaints differ strikingly from the accusations against IZVESTIYA.

Here there is not a word about the distortion of the meaning of his words in ABC, although it was from this newspaper that IZVESTIYA took its quotations. There is nothing about a tape "concocted by who knows whom" or indeed any doubts at all as to the authenticity

of the tape recording of the interview. I.S. Glazunov has just one complaint to level against the Spaniards: **How could the tape recording have left their editorial office?...**

On 14 November Ilya Sergeyevich brought the letter published above to IZVESTIYA. During the talk at the editorial office he discussed mainly his work. Yet in its item IZVESTIYA did not touch at all on the creative aspect of artist I.S. Glazunov, just as it does not touch on it in this note. We promised to publish his letter, having clarified the necessary details beforehand.

A couple of days later (17 November) ABC published a new interview with I.S. Glazunov, given to the newspaper's Moscow correspondent, A. Sotillo, under the heading: "Ilya Glazunov: I Am an Artist Loved by the People and Persecuted by the Mafia." Again, not a murmur about the falsification of the tape or even ABC's distortion of the previous interview. The talk was solely about the martyr artist, the victim of some "plot," persecuted by an organized "mafia...."

Unable in any way to reconcile such different opinions, we wanted to publish (if you want glasnost, then let's have it!) I.S. Glazunov's letter to IZVESTIYA and his letter to ABC and the second interview with that newspaper. We met with Ilya Sergeyevich again and familiarized him with these items. But again we did not succeed in reconciling glasnost "for export" and domestic glasnost. This time he told us that "everything had been misquoted" in the ABC items this time. And again our talk entered a deadlock.

So everyone is "lying."

We assert once again that we quoted the extracts from the ABC interview accurately, without taking them out of context, the recording was checked, and we have no doubts as to its authenticity although, if necessary, it can be examined by experts.

We state once again that everyone has the right to express his thoughts openly and publicly. But here we are sure that an opinion on a particular phenomenon cannot change depending on which side of a border a person has voiced it.

I.S. Glazunov's letter has been published by IZVESTIYA without the slightest omissions. The editorial office considers it possible to close the matter here.

Of course, I.S. Glazunov may turn to the court—we know he has already stated this intention publicly. That is his right. The IZVESTIYA editorial office does not intend to avoid responsibility. And it will report the trial proceedings and decision if there is a trial.

If you want glasnost, let's have it.

Firm Buys Goods From Tourists, Generates Revenue

PM2112161388 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 16 Dec 88 First Edition p 6

[Article by TASS correspondents S. Davydov and I. Zolotareva: "Department Store Against the Speculators"]

[Excerpts] Announcements in various languages that the "Passazh" trading firm will buy objects from foreign citizens have appeared in Leningrad's biggest hotels. They have generated a positive response from foreign tourists who have decided for various reasons to sell objects which they have brought into the country, and have upset the speculators in objects obtained from foreign tourists, who logicaly see the state trading organization's innovation as an encroachment on their incomes.

"When the new type of service was being discussed, I confess that thoughts relating to economic methods of combatting the social evil of speculation in goods obtained from foreign tourists were not expressed. Our motives were commercial—a desire to obtain additional profit and improve our plan indicators," "Passazh" Director V. Zelenskiy told your TASS correspondents. "The city's stores are starved of goods. There is a shortage practically right across the board. As soon as fashionable items appear on sale, lines form in an instant and everything sells out. Warehouse stocks are below the norm. So we thought: Why not buy up objects from foreign tourists, something which the second-hand trade has not done hitherto? The shelves will be fuller and our performance indicators will be better."

Thousands of foreign tourists visit the city on the Neva every year. Many of them wish to supplement their stock of rubles by making use of the substantial international difference in prices for goods in mass demand and bring clothes, footwear, watches, and a great deal else with them to sell in the USSR. This provided "businessmen" with an opportunity to obtain unearned income.

Many people suggest "intensifying the punishment" in this connection. But the only attractive thing about severity when tackling socioeconomic problems is its simplicity; as a rule it is not outstandingly effective. The assumption is that the "Passazh" experiment will yield the requisite result for less effort. [passage omitted]

In November "Passazh" sold R130,000 of goods brought in by tourists. R60,000 went into the state budget, while the remainder remained at the collective's disposal. The store's workers believe that revenue will grow if thought is given to advertising, for example.

"We assess the firm's initiative positively," Militia Major Yu. Osipov, chief of department of the Administration for Combatting Embezzlement of Socialist Property, said. "In this instance both buyer and seller are operating within the framework of the law and without

the demeaning circumstances so characteristic of hand-to-hand trading. In a state institution this kind of activity can be monitored; as a result of competition it has every chance of, if not undermining the foundations, then at least reducing the scale of criminal machinations." [passage omitted]

Correction to Zhilys on Constitution

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Zhilys Interviewed on Lithuanian Constitution," published in the 19 December Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 67-69.

Page 68, column a, paragraph four, from line four ...changed according to a Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet decision which has been adopted by no fewer than two-thirds of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet deputies. It is... (supplying dropped passage)

Page 69, column a, paragraph six, from line fourteen ...Measures for Improvement of Instruction and Learning in... (supplying dropped words "of Instruction")

Page 69, column a, last paragraph, from line three ...in national organizations.

[Zhilys] Yes, such documents have been adopted. For instance, Lithuanian... (supplying dropped passage)

Page 69, column b, paragraph two, line one... [Kaltenis] How can the... (providing name)

Economic

Kamentsev Outlines Foreign Economic Strategy

PM2112122588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Restructuring for Effective Foreign Economic Activity"]

[Text] "New Features in USSR Foreign Economic Ties" was the topic of a press conference in Moscow on 20 December. Addressing it, V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, described the work being undertaken in the USSR to improve the country's foreign economic ties and ways of further deepening them.

Setting itself the task of making active use of its international contacts to speed up development, he observed, the USSR intends to restructure the structure of foreign trade turnover step by step, thereby making exporting and importing more effective.

To these ends the CPSU Central Committee Politburo has approved the strategy of developing Soviet foreign economic ties. This reflects a new approach to developing international trade and economic ties aimed at enhancing their role in speeding up the country's economic and social development and involving the Soviet Union's national economic complex in the international division of labor in a more active and all-around way.

We have large plans to develop the country's economy, science, and technology, he stressed, and the Soviet Union will make full use of all the opportunities afforded by international cooperation to this end. The USSR is ready to offer foreign companies and firms participation in our programs to further develop the country's power industry and modernize machine building, the agroindustrial complex, the chemicals industry, and the petrochemicals industry. We are ready to cooperate in major long-term projects and many medium-sized ones and even in small deals which may be of interest to big, small, or medium-sized businesses.

In view of the Soviet Union's considerable share of the world market, restructuring the Soviet economy will help develop extensive international cooperation and improve international economic relations. It is planned for our country to play a more purposeful part in international economic organizations. This primarily concerns closer ties between the USSR and the GATT, with the intention of eventually becoming a full member, the conclusion of a large-scale agreement on trade and cooperation with the EC, and the establishment of working contacts with EFTA, the OECD, the IMF, and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

The USSR will energetically develop cooperation with international and regional economic organizations of the developing countries, and this includes a readiness to take part in the work of a conference on Asian and Pacific economic cooperation.

It is well-known, V.M. Kamentsev went on to say, that cooperation is a reciprocal matter. Economic relations in the modern world can only be built on the basis of equal rights, trust, and strict observance of mutual accords.

V.M. Kamenstev answered journalists' questions.

Gosplan Delegation Supports Economic Cooperation

AU1312142788 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 13 Dec 88 p 14

["Fue" report: "Up to Now a One-Sided Game; USSR Seeks Partners for Cooperation"]

[Text] Hamburg, 12 December— Professor Genrikh Stroganov resorted to a comparison from the sphere of sports: "Trade is like a soccer match. Unfortunately, up to now it has been a one-sided game." In order to reduce the trade deficit at the expense of the USSR, economic

cooperation has to be strengthened, the deputy chairman of Gosplan, the USSR Council of Ministers' State Planning Committee, declared at a meeting in the House of the Vereins- und Westbank [Bank of the Union and the West] in Hamburg. In his answer, Rolf Kirchfeld, member of the Vereins- und Westbank's board of directors, took up this simile from the sphere of sports and said: "We would be glad to play soccer with you, but we do not want to score goals against ourselves, either." This little pun is proof of the relaxed and open atmosphere. The Gosplan delegation, which is currently in Hamburg on an informative visit of several days, had very vivid discussions with representatives from Hamburg businesses. However, the readiness to supply information cannot conceal the fact that in some cases the two sides seemed to misunderstand each other. Next year some 40,000 state enterprises, which have been under the authority of ministries or individual republics of the union to date, are to be given economic and financial autonomy. This will make it possible to discuss possibilities of cooperation directly with the enterprise, Stroganov said. In the future, each enterprise will be allowed to retain and use 40 percent of the foreign currency that it earns through exports. Of the remaining foreign currency, some 5 to 10 percent will go to the funds of ministries and the remaining sum to the central fund of the state, which also receives the benefits from the sale of strategic raw materials (which will continue to be handled exclusively by the Foreign Ministry). USSR enterprises that lack foreign currency earnings can apply for foreign currency at the central fund. The Council of Ministers will decide on the distribution of means on the proposal of the planning commission. In order to promote cooperation, joint enterprises are to be given the right to retain the sum of the foreign currency which they earn.

Moreover, Soviet enterprises will be freer with regard to marketing their products. According to Stroganov, the current "plan assignment" will be replaced by a "state assignment" from next year on. This year the state's production quota is still 89 percent. However, next year the state assignment will not be greater than 35 percent. Enterprises will be able to freely sell the remaining products on domestic or foreign markets, Stroganov added.

Moreover, Stroganov said, a joint enterprise does not necessarily have to be founded on Soviet territory. Other socialist countries, such as Hungary for example, also lend themselves to this purpose. As to the question of how cooperation agreements should be concluded, Stroganov noted: "Whoever has the better qualifications in a certain technology must take the first step."

Shortages: Sources, Means To Overcome

PM2112120388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Scarcities. What Are the Sources of This Phenomenon and How Is It to Be Overcome?"]

[Text] Many of us experience regular shortages in sales of a number of goods, foods, and industrial products. Now one kind of commodity, now another suddenly disappears from the counters. There are different kinds of scarcities: chronic, lasting years; short-term; and even unexpected. All kinds of scarcities arise from an imbalance between the amount of money customers have and the total volume of high-quality goods in the stores.

Why do such imbalances arise in the economy when the law of planned, proportionate development operates and when all sectors and enterprises work to preapproved plans? The chief reason for the acute shortage of goods is the chronic laggardness in the development of light industry sectors and also of the agro-industrial complex and its processing enterprises. During many 5-year plans, when the USSR Gosplan distributed state capital investments, these sectors were in like outcasts.

And here is the result of such economically unsound planning: At the beginning of this year the total value of industrial productive fixed capital stood at R842 billion. Heavy industry sectors accounted for R754 billion of this, or almost 90 percent of the total value. At the same time, light industry accounted for less than R31 billion, which is just 3.7 percent. The capital of food industry sectors belonging to the agro-industrial complex is estimated at 6.3 percent.

These figures show that the capital investment policy has had serious flaws. By investing the lion's share of capital and resources in the development of heavy industry sectors and "forgetting" about the fate of the light and food sectors, we in point of fact developed production not for the sake of satisfying people's vital needs but mainly for the sake of production itself.

It was only after April 1985 that this pernicious tilt began to be righted. Of course, the disproportion that has occurred cannot be corrected in a year or two. This is why during the next 2 years of the current 5-year plan and, particularly, in the plans for the 13th 5-year plan we must abruptly alter the structure of capital investments in favor of the sectors which meet people's needs for foodstuffs, goods, and services.

Surplus money, not backed by a mass of high-quality goods and services, also forms because we take an inadmissibly long time to construct—which means it costs too much—new enterprises, housing, and sociocultural projects. Of the 714 projects due for completion this year and included in the state order, the USSR State Committee for Statistics reports, just 102 were commissioned during the first 10 months—a mere 14 percent of the annual target. There are inadmissible delays over commissioning projects carried over from last year's plan. Of the 194 construction projects for which new deadlines were set, just 127 were commissioned during the 10 months.

What, under these conditions, are the financial results of construction trusts? You might think that they must go bust. However, the construction complex overfulfilled the profits plan by 17 percent during the 10 months. From where do the profits come? They are groundlessly

calculated on the foundations laid and the walls of unfinished projects. The more material and financial resources a trust invests in as yet dead projects, the higher are the deductions for wages and for incentive funds. This is how potential customers get money in their pockets which is not in fact backed up with goods. This is one of the chief sources of scarcities. In order to close this "source" it is necessary to construct within one's means and not go on planning supergiant plants which can only be completed in 15-20 years.

A paradox of our economic practice is the fact that scarcity of resources goes hand in glove with the freezing of tremendous material assets not only in inflated uncompleted construction but also in stocks at enterprises of all sectors. Wages have been paid to produce these material assets, and yet, sitting in warehouses, they provide no goods. It is one of the primary tasks of the USSR Gossnab and sectoral ministries to organize the speediest realization of these stocks and to commission assets.

One of the chief causes of the structural distortions in the economy leading to a commodity-money imbalance is the cost-based nature of the economic mechanism, which has to be replaced in the course of implementing a radical economic reform. For ministries and enterprises have still not counted the money properly. What is more, they were interested in increasing the cost volume of production. This is why it is so important for all enterprises and construction projects to go over to real economic accountability and self-financing and to create a cost-cutting mechanism.

The shaping of a deficit-free budget is an important precondition for strengthening the ruble. According to the plan, as is known, budget expenditure in 1989 will exceed income by R36.3 billion. Of course, such a large sum will not help to reduce inflation. Therefore, it is extremely important now to have stricter control over the expenditure of budget funds. The state banks have a great role to play here. Much will also depend on improving the practice of taking the incomes of enterprises and cooperatives into account and validly levying taxes in full accordance with incomes.

The preferential growth of the average wage compared with labor productivity growth is a serious factor reducing the purchasing power of the ruble. During the first 3 quarters of this year, for example, the increase in the average wage stood at 1.65 percent in industry in the Estonian SSR, 1.75 percent in the Moldavian SSR, and 2.12 percent in the Kazakh SSR for a 1-percent increase in labor productivity. In the country's industry as a whole, labor productivity increased 5.2 percent, while the average monthly wage increased 6.7 percent. Alarming figures. They show that the imbalance between money and goods is increasing. In order to achieve a fundamental change here it is necessary to end the secret "competition" between leaders of neighboring enterprises in increasing wages for the purpose of attracting working people to vacancies. It would be more correct and efficient to resolutely eliminate obsolete and superfluous jobs and to close unprofitable sections and shops.

Scarcities of goods and foodstuffs must be eliminated by arranging efficient, well-organized, highly productive, and economical work at every enterprise, construction site, kolkhoz, and livestock unit. No one will give us on a plate the benefits created by someone. Nor is it any good continuously selling our own oil for food and goods. Therefore, we will be able to buy in a store or market only what we ourselves produce.

Local soviets have a great role to play in overcoming scarcities of food and goods. For this we must more quickly modernize existing light and food industry factories and combines in every republic, kray, oblast, and city; produce more goods from local resources; and more boldly develop production cooperatives to produce goods and develop the services sphere. The country's planning and financial organs must play a very important role in overcoming scarcities as soon as possible. Only a package of measures formulated at the level of the entire national economy will make it possible to improve the country's finances and overcome scarcities.

Jewelry in Demand as Price Rise Rumored

PM2112114388 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[Article by V. Romanchin under the rubric "We Comment on Rumors": "Gold 'Boom'"; incorporating interview with V. Zagrebayev, chief of the RSFSR Ministry of Trade, Republican Bureau for Jewelry Production and Trade, and commentary by Ye. Rychin, deputy chief of the USSR State Committee for Prices, Retail Prices Economic Index Department]

[Text] Sverdlovsk: Long lines appear at the jewelry store doors long before they open.

Voronezh: An hour after trade has started some gold articles have completely disappeared from the shelves.

Kaliningrad: The sale of gold and silver ornaments has sharply increased.

Kaluga: A severe shortage of wedding rings is being felt in the trade.

Recently the editorial office has been getting frequent reports like this. Cheap ornaments and wedding rings are disappearing from the jewelry stores. Gold items costing several thousand rubles and ornaments with diamonds are in great demand. What is this—another outbreak of "gold fever"?

We asked V. Zagrebayev, chief of the RSFSR Ministry of Trade, Republican Bureau for Jewelry Production and Trade, to explain the situation:

[Zagrebayev] I think it is wrong to talk about "gold fever." Recently I was in Surgut, Tyumen, Penza, and Krasnoyarsk...These goods are in the stores there. Every day there are from 500 to 1,000 items on the shelves. It is quite another matter that recently buyers' interest in gold chains, items with diamonds, and silver ornaments has sharply increased....

[Romanchin] All the same, what do you think is the reason why people are now lining up to buy gold?

[Zagrebayev] People are talking and writing a lot about price reforms. The lack of information is giving rise to rumors about an imminent increase in prices of items made from precious metals.

[Romanchin] In your view, is there any sense in raising prices for gold items and diamonds?

[Zagrebayev] We believe this would not be expedient. Incidentally, after a rise in the gold price in 1981, trade turnover across the country halved.

In recent years the industry and trade have largely been satisfying consumer demand for jewelry at reasonable prices. But there are still not enough types on sale. So, when 5 months ago interest grew in gold chains, silver items, wedding rings, and diamond ornaments, we experienced a shortage in this group of goods.

But I repeat, this is not an indicator. We can meet the normal demand for these goods in full.

[Romanchin] All the same, when will the jewelry trade stabilize?

[Zagrebayev] We believe that the demand for gold items will remain high in the very near future. To give you an idea of its present level, let me cite this figure: This year already the Republican Bureau for Jewelry Production and Trade has sold 15 percent more gold ornaments than last year. For this reason the trade has stocked up with even more jewelry for 1989....

"The stir concerning the prices asked for gold items and ornaments made with diamonds is not passing us by either," Ye. Rychin, deputy chief of the USSR State Committee for Prices, Retail Prices Economic Index Department, says. "The committee is receiving many letters in which people ask: Is it true that as of the beginning of the new year the prices of gold ornaments will greatly increase? I can say definitely that these are totally unfounded rumors. For example, what could be the outcome of the statement made by some engineer and published in one youth newspaper in the Far East, that the price of gold will increase by 43 percent? Naturally, the information has not been corroborated. It is simply misleading thousands of people and preventing jewelry stores from doing their normal work. And I understand the leaders of the Republican Bureau for Jewelry Production and Trade who, in this difficult situation, have to resolve problems connected with these swings in consumer demand. Now they simply have no time to improve customer service. Every day they have to resolve the same question: How to eliminate the hullabaloo and normalize the jewelry trade."

Yes, a great deal of work is being done right now to change wholesale prices. It is not a question of retail prices. But, if some changes are planned in this sphere, they will be put up for general discussion.

Scientific

Soyuz TM-6 Spaceship Lands Safely 21 Dec

Further on Delay

LD2112145588 Moscow TASS in English 1451 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 21 TASS—By a TASS correspondent at the ground control centre:

The three-hour touchdown delay for a Soviet-French cosmonaut team inside the Soyuz TM-6 spaceship's landing capsule on Wednesday was due to the faulty interaction of some of the new software with the old package of programs in the on-board computer, a senior Soviet space official said.

Deputy Flight Director Viktor Blagov was speaking after Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov and Jean-Loup Chretien landed in northern Kazakhstan.

He blamed the delayed touchdown on a program for protecting an infra-red pickup against interference. The pickup is responsible for orienting the spaceship before the engines are fired to slow it.

The program was fed into the on-board computer after the Soviet-Afghan crew's landing last September had to be put off because of trouble with the pickup.

At that time the engines were to be fired as the spaceship was over the dividing line between the nighttime and the daytime sides of the earth. Solar rays were falling at an angle of 90 degrees to the pickup's axis and so it oriented the spaceship towards the sun.

When the angle changed, the pickup reacted by ordering the Soyuz vehicle to be turned to the earth but the time for firing the engine had already passed.

The new safeguard program for the pickup was developed to avoid similar situations in future but "as it was loaded into the computer and tested on the ground, the possibility of a computing breakdown like the one that happened today was not foreseen", Blagov explained.

"The computer signaled that its memory was overloaded, and cut out the landing program. Then, after consulting ground control, the crew changed to a backup program," he continued.

"The on-board computer system responsible for descent functioned without a hitch. Specialists will now have to adjust the program taking into account today's problems," Blagov said.

Titov, Manarov and Chretien are leaving for the Star City outside Moscow after a medical examination. The flight there will take 3.5 hours.

Experts believe that the cosmonauts' condition after touchdown gives no grounds for concern about their health.

Blagov also said that at around 9:40 Thursday morning the Soyuz TM-7 spaceship, still in orbit, will be flown from the docking port of the Kvant (Quantum) module to the airlock where Soyuz TM-6 had been anchored.

This is needed to make room for a progress supply craft due to lift off on December 25.

'Readaptation' in Star City

LD2112195688 Moscow TASS in English 1605 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 21 TASS—Soviet cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov, after a year in space, and their French colleague Jean-Loup Chretien will return to Star City near Moscow tonight.

The Soviet-French crew soft-landed 180 kilometres south-east of the city of Dzhezkazgan, Soviet Kazakhstan, at 12:57 Moscow time today after the successful completion of their programme of studies and experiments.

After a medical check-up by a special team of doctors, the spacemen were brought to Dzhezkazgan from where they will fly to Star City.

The cosmonauts will undergo readaptation there, rather than at the Baykonur Space Centre. Doctors believe that at the cosmonauts' training centre in Star City, fitted with state-of-the-art equipment, Titov and Manarov will regain their shape quicker after a year-long stay in zero-gravity.

Cosmonauts Taken to Moscow

LD2212000288 Moscow TASS in English 2002 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Dzhezkazgan, North Kazakhstan December 21 TASS—By TASS special correspondent:

Reporters, who were hurrying to the area where two Soviet and one French cosmonaut were to land, could see nothing but clouds through windows of the five helicopters that were carrying them.

So they had to return to Dzhezkazgan where they later were told that the cosmonauts had a good landing.

Specialists were concerned over the health of Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov who had spent one year in space, and prepared all things that might be necessary.

"It's a long time since I've been here—a whole year," a smiling Titov said as soon as the hatch of the descent module was opened.

The search team was not taken unawares by the change in the situation when the cosmonauts had to land far from the earlier planned site. It carried out a standby variant of the searching operation without a hitch.

Aleksey Leonov, deputy head of the cosmonauts' training centre, told reporters about details of that operation at an improvised news conference at Dzhezkazgan Airport, pending the cosmonauts' arrival in helicopters.

Representatives of the French side complained that they had not been able to go to the landing site to welcome their compatriot Jean-Loup Chretien.

Leonov explained that a big concentration of vehicles in one area in the conditions of a low cloud ceiling and poor visibility could create a very dangerous situation, so all risks had to be avoided.

Chretien landed with a wonderful blood pressure—120/70. He answered reporters' questions with a charming smile.

Soon the cosmonauts were taken in a plane to Moscow.

Cosmonauts Receive State Awards on Mission

LD2112194388 Moscow TASS in English 1423 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 21 TASS—Soviet spaceman Musa Manarov and space pilot Vladimir Titov have been awarded the titles of Heros of the Soviet Union and the Orders of Lenin and the Gold Star medals, the highest Soviet rewards, for successful performance of a durable space mission aboard the orbital station Mir and the courage and heroism displayed during the space flight. Musa Manarov was also awarded the title of "space pilot of the USSR."

French research cosmonaut Jean-Loup Chretien was awarded the Order of the Red Banner of Labour for implementing the flight on board the space station Mir as well as in recognition of his courage and heroism displayed during the mission.

The Soviet Order of the Friendship of Peoples has been conferred on French research cosmonaut Michel Tognini for his active participation in supporting the flight of the Soviet-French crew on board the orbital space complex Mir.

'Soyuz TM-7' Redocks at Orbital Complex

LD2212103188 Moscow TASS in English 0953 GMT 22 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 22 TASS—TASS correspondent reports from the mission control centre:

Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Valeriy Polyakov continue their space flight on board the Mir orbital complex.

In accordance with the flight program, the Soyuz TM-7 spacecraft was re-docked today from the Quantum module to the orbital station's airlock. The rearrangement of the manned complex was carried out for the purpose of permitting further operations to supply it with fuel, equipment and so on, using Progress unmanned spacecraft.

Before the undocking cosmonauts moved to the transport spacecraft and sealed hatches. At 9.45, Moscow time, the Soyuz TM-7 detached itself from the orbital complex.

Following the orders of on-board instruments, the orbital complex made a 180-degree turn and took its bearings. Using a manual control system, the cosmonauts moved the spacecraft closer to the orbital complex and at 9.59 docked it to the airlock.

The cosmonauts are in good health and feel well.

The flight of the permanent orbital complex Mir is going on normally.

An-225 Makes Successful Maiden Test Flight

LD2112131288 Moscow TASS in English 1207 GMT 21 Dec 88

[Text] Kiev December 21 TASS—By TASS correspondent Valentin Vernodubenko:

The world's largest aircraft made its maiden flight here on Wednesday.

Dubbed Mria, or the Dream, in Ukrainian, the Antonov-225 was carrying a crew of just seven, though it is capable of lifting 250 tonnes of freight.

With all its six turbojet engines fired, the plane soared with amazing ease considering its gigantic size.

The takeoff run was merely one kilometer, although the aircraft will need an estimated 3.5 kilometers of runway when fully loaded.

The 1.5-hour test flight was a success, with the pilots praising the plane for being easy to control.

The An-225 carries dozens of computers monitoring the operation of its various systems which have multiple backups. All the equipment, including the engines, is Soviet-made.

Chief designer Petr Balabuyev called the plane a major advance for the aircraft-building industry not only in this country but also in the world as a whole.

He said that the plane has been built with new, high-strength alloys and structural materials and that it can carry cargoes not only inside its freight bay but also piggyback-style.

The An-225 can deliver building modules and large-size gas and oil producing equipment to any part of the Soviet Union.

Among other things, it can carry Buran-type space shuttles and parts of the Energia booster rocket to their launch sites directly from the factory.

[Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1530 GMT on 21 December carries a similar report on the maiden flight of An-225 adding the following:

"Comrade Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, attended the test flight. He congratulated the designers and aviation constructors for this success."]

Arctic Navigation Successful Despite Bad Start

OW0812024188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2030 GMT 3 Dec 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Despite difficult beginnings, the seamen of the Far East concluded the current Arctic navigation season successfully.

[Begin video recording of V.M. Miskov, head of the Far East Shipping Company, identified by screen caption; video shows Miskov standing on a pier, speaking to unidentified correspondent] The beginning of the navigation season was very unfortunate indeed. In fact, it was so bad that we lost confidence in our ability to deliver cargo in the prescribed time. In practical terms, our icebreakers and cargo ships remained idle for 30 days on (Komka).

But, to recall an old Russian proverb: Every cloud has a silver lining. This situation—the huge loss suffered at the start of the navigation season—forced us to operationally restructure the attitudes of port workers, ship repairmen, and seaman towards reorganizing their loading procedures, fleet organization, and the use of new vessels

such as the barge carrier "Kosygin," which delivered 20 barges to [word indistinct] during the last navigation season. At that time we thought that this was a good result. This year the vessel made the journey twice and delivered 82 barges. We also put caution aside in making full use of vessels equipped with helicopter unloading facilities. Thus, it can be said that despite the large losses suffered early in the navigation season, we completed the Arctic navigation season in some cases 10 and even 12 days early and have completed the delivery of planned and unplanned cargo. [end recording]

And so, the top icebreakers of the Far East Shipping Company "Admiral Makarov" and "Kapitan Khlebnikov" are once again in their home port, Vladivostok. After a short layover and minor repairs they will head north to guide winter shipping convoys through the Laperuz Straits and the Okhotsk Sea.

Scientific Objections to Volga Canal Ignored

PM1912152588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Ye. Pastukhova, senior scientific staffer at the USSR State Committee for Protection of the Environment, All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Nature Protection: "Specialists' Conclusions Go Unheeded"]

[Text] Why professionals? Why involve them when you are working out a solution? The questions might seem foolish, since the answer is known in advance, namely, to provide scientific validation and reliability. But is that so in practice?

An extraordinary enlarged session of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences [VASKHNIL] was held 7 December to consider the Volga-Chorgay Canal project. Major scientists and specialists from the USSR Academy of Sciences, VASKHNIL, the USSR Gosplan, and the USSR State Committee for Protection of the Environment were invited.

G.I. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, immediately spelled out the presidium leadership's position: Only the scientific problems pertaining to the project could be discussed; the question of the expediency of construction was not open to discussion.

This statement struck us as strange, to say the least: Purely scientific problems hardly exist in isolation from problems concerning the state and the people.

However, in discussing the scientific basis of the project scientists were unable to pass over in silence questions concerning economic expediency, environmental safety, or the necessity of diverting the waters of the Volga.

The claim that there is a water shortage in that region did not stand up. I will give specific figures. According to state statistics, more than 30 percent of the water taken for irrigation in Stavropol Kray is lost. The inventory of reclaimed land carried out in 1987 showed that of 391,600 hectares of farm land in the Stavropol region 69,900 were high in salinity, 22,400 hecatres contained solonetz complexes, and 13,000 were waterlogged, which is due to breaches of the rules pertaining to water utilization and, specifically with overwatering.

Academician T.S. Khachaturov, chairman of the All-Union Economic Society, showed how unjustifiably expensive the diversion will be: The cost per cubic meter of water will reach R2. This figure does not yet include compensation payments for appropriation of land for hydroengineering construction, losses of fish production, or the losses connected with cessation of the farming of saiga antelope, condemned by the project to extinction. Academician B.N. Laskorin pointed out how the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources is repeating the Aral tragedy in the Caspian. It is pushing forward the implementation of the main planks of the plan to divert the northern rivers—mighty canals.

Every speaker sought to convey to the presidium his precise calculations, the truths obtained in scientific research. The impossibility of taking more water from the Volga and the invalidity of the idea of the canal's environmental safety were shown by figures. The session lasted from 1000 to 1900 hours. Everyone who wished to speak did so. Only then was the session's draft decision announced. It essentially upheld the interests of the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources and took virtually no account of the scientific data produced during the discussion and nullifying the very idea of a canal.

It turned out that the professionals, specialists, and scientists were assigned a quite different role from that which they supposed. We were used as a blind. The decision, which goes against our convictions, was taken under cover of our names. They did not even argue with us—they nodded assent to certain phrases, promised to insert something. But they arrived at their decision privately, albeit in public.

The thrust of the decision presented at the end of the session was unchanged from that prepared before the session. Its basic provisions remained unshakable—the water of the Volga will be supplied to Stavropol Kray via the Volga-Chorgay Canal and the extraction of water from the Volga is considered environmentally safe.

All this was extremely demeaning to the scientists assembled in this venerable hall. It was made perfectly clear to us that scientific truths retreat before departmental pressure. I would not like to think that we have such an all-powerful Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources lobby in our country that old methods can be employed under the new flag of democracy.

I think that what happened at the session of the academy presidium 7 December goes far beyond discussion of a particular project or purely scientific problems in general. In my view, what was being decided that day was a question of social maturity and scientists' civic responsibility for the fate of the homeland, and it has to be said that they flunked the test.

Nuclear Power Station Capacity To Triple

LD2012112788 Hamburg DPA in German 1758 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] Munich/Ohu (DPA)—The Soviet Union intends to triple its nuclear power station capacity from a present 35,000 megawatts (Federal Republic—23,000 megawatts) to over 100,000 megawatts by the year 2000. The chairman of the State Committee for the Utilization of Atomic Energy in the USSR, Prof Aleksandr Protsenko, said in Munich today after a visit to the nuclear power station Isar II in Ohu, near Landshut, that this increase is to be achieved by the construction of four to six new nuclear power stations and the expansion of the existing plant. He also stressed that the development of atomic energy in the Soviet Union was progressing more slowly than originally planned.

New types of reactor are now being developed in the Soviet Union and existing types are being made safer. Protsenko said that a new type of pressurized water reactor is being built in collaboration with Siemens. Three Federal Republic firms are involved in the development of a high-temperature reactor in the USSR. Together with safety experts from Sweden, the Federal Republic and the GDR guidelines for the planning and operation of nuclear power stations are being laid down, in which "the best from each of the other involved countries is to be adopted." The goal here is to raise safety standards. The development of the "fast-breeder reactor" is progressing more slowly than planned. At present a plant of this type with a capacity of 1.6 million kilowatts is at the planning stage; three such types with capacities of from 350 to 800 megawatts are already in existence.

According to Protsenko, a nuclear power station in Armenia was not damaged during the recent earthquake. It was designed for earthquakes of up to nine on the Richter scale, but as it did in fact lie on a tectonic fault it would, within the framework of the safety retrofitting of the existing plant, probably not be modernized but be shut down in the long run. The only other larger source of power in Armenia, an oil-fired power station, was badly damaged and is no longer in operation.

With regard to possibly dispensing with nuclear energy, Protsenko stressed that this would, as a result of enviromental pollution through the use of coal-fired power stations as alternative sources of power, "mean the deaths of several hundred thousand people." Opponents of nuclear energy are obviously prepared to take this into account. The development of nuclear energy could also help prevent growing enviromental problems such as the greenhouse effect.

*Medical Official Cited on AIDS, Countermeasures

WA18070071 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Nov 88 p 6

[Interview with Colonel Leonid Andreyevich Kozhemyakin, doctor of medical sciences, professor, and chief of the clinical biochemistry and laboratory diagnostics department of the S.M. Kirov Military Medical Academy, by Ye. Agapova, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent: "For the Time Being There Is No Vaccine..."]

[Text] Only recently, we lived in relative complacency: People were dying from AIDS only over "there." But the thunder rang out: the death of 29-year-old Olga Gayevskaya—the first person to die from AIDS in our country. And this happened in Leningrad, where the special scientific practical association "AIDS and AIDS-Associated Infections" has been created and is in operation, and where there are many well-known medical institutions. This case cannot help but give rise to doubts about the reliability of our preventive treatment of AIDS, as well as quite a few puzzling questions. In particular: Where is the guarantee that this was the first death? Perhaps others died from AIDS earlier, but were incorrectly diagnosed?

It is with these reflections that our correspondent's interview began with Col L. Kozhemyakin, doctor of medical sciences, professor, and chief of the clinical biochemistry and laboratory diagnostics department of the S.M. Kirov Military Medical Academy.

[Agapova] As far as I know, Leonid Andreyevich, you headed the commission appointed by the Leningrad Gorispolkom to investigate the circumstances of the AIDS death. The degree of fault of the medical personnel who "overlooked" the disease has already been established. But today it is useful to recall again how the events developed.

[Kozhemyakin] Patient Gayevskaya came to the rayon polyclinic 23 times in 7 months. She complained of a cough, sore throat, temperature, high weight loss (up to 12 kg), and infection of the mucous membrane of the mouth. What did the physicians do? They extended her sick-leave certificate and prescribed medication. And that was all. None of the medical personnel were put on guard or carried out a complete clinical and laboratory investigation.

[Agapova] This, as they say, was the first mistake....

[Kozhemyakin] Later, one mistake followed another. The patient was diagnosed as having tracheobronchitis, drug-induced stomatitis, chronic tonsillitis.... But they did not suggest going into a hospital for a check-up. She

ended up in Clinic No 1 of the Leningrad Medical Institute at her own insistence 2 and ½ weeks before she died. True, here they did blood tests for the HIV (human immune-deficiency virus) antibodies, but the results were negative. Only in the resuscitation department of the UVD hospital, where she was transferred shortly before her death, did they suspect the true cause of the tragedy.

[Agapova] The question arises: Why did the first blood test for the HIV antibodies, made in a specialized laboratory, not confirm the presence of the antibodies? Doesn't this indicate that our methods for diagnosing AIDS are unreliable?

[Kozhemyakin] The problem is that this test was done formally. Gayevskaya's blood serum was tested in "pools," that is, mixed with other people's blood. The question is: Why not separately? It all comes down to a critical shortage of diagnostic test systems and equipment for immuno-enzyme analysis and expert AIDS diagnostics. This is not the fault of the physicians, but their misfortune. And until the situation changes, the chances of this most insidious disease spreading will increase.

Today we know quite a number of risk factors and variants of possible transmission of the virus: blood, sexual contact, and being passed on from an infected mother to her child. We also know that there are as yet no vaccines or effective drugs against AIDS in the world. I am deeply convinced that the time for oversimplified views of the AIDS problem has long passed. The problem is not only in the lack of a sufficient amount of disposable syringes and condoms, a certain decline in morals, and flaws in sanitary educational work. We now need to bring scientific research in this area to a qualitatively new level and understand that humankind has encountered a new medical and biological situation.

[Agapova] As the chief laboratory specialist of the Ministry of Defense, this is not the first year you have been working on this problem in the Army. Back not too very long ago, we informed our readers that there were no cases of this disease in the Armed Forces. What can be said today?

[Kozhemyakin] To this day, no service members have been identified as having AIDS. But there are more than 10 people who have tested positive in the immuno-enzyme test. In other words, the HIV antibodies were found in their blood. However, the most reliable method of expert diagnostics—immunoblotting—has not confirmed the results. From all appearances, the false-positive is the result of earlier viral diseases (scabs, chicken pox, German measles, and others). Naturally, we are constantly monitoring the health of these service members.

[Agapova] Getting back to the Leningrad incident, I would like to direct your attention to the fact that AIDS was accompanied by a special form of pneumonia, quite typical of this disease. I know that pneumonia causes quite a few problems for military medical personnel, particularly during the period 1st-year service members are adapting to the new conditions. Alas, the physicians do not always come out the winners against this disease. Can you be sure that the person is not dying of AIDS?

[Kozhemyakin] Indeed, the majority of AIDS casualties die from pneumocystic pneumonia. Medical personnel must be especially alert when it comes to lingering, questionable cases of pneumonia. As we know, there are two risk groups. The first is drug addicts, prostitutes, and homosexuals. The second is people who have had a number of infectious diseases and patients requiring frequent blood transfusions. I am convinced that unusual cases of pneumonia which do not respond to treatment should be included in the second risk group, and those coming down with it should be tested accordingly for the presence of the HIV antibodies.

[Agapova] But how prepared is the military medical service to fight AIDS?

[Kozhemyakin] At present, we have a monitoring system. The Military Medical Academy has set up a special laboratory and expert AIDS diagnostics department. More than 40 specialists have been trained for diagnostic laboratories, which have deployed in all district, group, and fleet hospitals. There they test all donors and those who have had viral hepatitis, tuberculosis, thrombocytopenia, and venereal diseases. All questionable results are sent to us at the academy for expert diagnostics. By the way, associates at our academy have proposed a simpler method of drawing blood for AIDS testing—the so-called dry drop method. It makes it possible to discontinue intravenous intervention, to store the samples at room temperature for up to 1 and ½ months, and also to transport blood long distances. There is also another advantage—the number of false-positive results decrease significantly.

[Agapova] But doesn't it seem to you that several dozen specialists for the hospitals is still not the solution to the problem. Let us remember that the patient went to polyclinic physicians for half a year....

[Kozhemyakin] You are right. Every physician must not only be on the alert for AIDS, but also must have a certain knowledge in this field, if we want to reliably stop this virus. Unfortunately, today the practical physician does not have serious educational methods literature containing information on HIV, the peculiarities of the development and course of the disease, and methods of diagnostics. True, finally in Leningrad, where the thunder rang out, such a manual has already been presented to the publishing house. Its authors are specialists of the

Military Medical Academy. It will come out early next year. As far as military physicians are concerned, they already have detailed instructions on AIDS available.

[Agapova] In dealing with such an insidious virus, obviously it is hard to talk about prognoses. Therefore, I suggest we conclude this interview with present-day figures. How many cases of the disease have been recorded in other countries and in our country?

[Kozhemyakin] According to World Health Organization (WHO) data, as of 31 October of this year there have been 124,114 cases of this dangerous disease recorded in 142 countries. This is 4,296 cases more compared to the corresponding period last year. Data published by WHO indicates an increase in the number of AIDS cases on the American and European Continents. There have been 88,233 and 15,414 recorded cases there, respectively. The United States alone has 76,670 recorded cases. There are 101 virus carriers in our country today. Back in the first part of the year there were one-third less. I think that all this forces us to take a new look at AIDS and assess the real danger, especially since authoritative scientists predict it will be a long time yet before we get a reliable vaccine.

Military

Conferences on Armed Forces Restructuring Held

PM2112162388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Dec 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Conferences Held"]

[Text] Red Banner Kiev Military District, 20 Dec—The implementation of the political directives of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference on restructuring in the USSR Armed Forces, and the demands stemming from them to increase the vigilance and combat readiness of the troops—this was the central theme of the 32d district party conference which took place today.

It was noted in delegates' speeches that restructuring in the district's forces is still progressing with difficulty. A fundamental breakthrough in the state of troop discipline has still not been achieved.

The conference directed the political organs, party organizations, and all communists to increase work with military cadres.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, addressed the conference.

Order of Lenin Leningrad Military District, 20 Dec—An analysis of the results of restructuring in troop collectives was the main theme of the principled conversation which the district's communists conducted today at the 33d party conference. Its participants gave an assessment of the work done by the political directorate, political organs, and party organizations.

The delegates noted that the report-and-election campaign gave a fresh impetus to the organization of party work. At the meetings and conferences the district communists submitted more than 1,700 critical remarks and proposals.

Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Leningrad CPSU Obkom, took part in the conference's work.

Civilian-Military 'Bridges of Trust' Needed

PM2112121188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Dec 88 First Edition p 2

[Special correspondent Major Yu. Rubtsov article: "'The Movement Is Convinced....' What Is Behind Certain 'Sajudis' Proposals on Military Questions"—first paragraph printed as boxed introduction]

[Text] **I'll be frank: Many of those with whom I had an opportunity to discuss the "military aspects" of the program document issued by the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring advised me against embarking on polemics. Some of them, admitting the contradictory and arguable nature of a number of propositions put forward by "Sayudis," reasoned along the following line: It does not matter, they said, what you write in the heat of the moment: The program itself has not yet been published; only its draft has been publicized. Others were "concerned" about the author, worried in case—God forbid—people got the impression that he was a zealous defender of departmental honor.**

In my view, there is nevertheless a need for an open and frank discussion. "Sajudis" is extremely prestigious in the republic and its voice is heeded by hundreds of thousands of people. But it is not only constructive, healthy, and objectively pressing suggestions, ready for actual implementation, that produce a great effect. There is also growing confusion in the minds of people who accept at face value, almost like a revelation, propositions which I am not alone in perceiving as highly arguable and at times simply wrong.

Here is one of them which, judging by everything, is a key proposition: "The movement is convinced that the existing procedure for performing military service in the USSR Armed Forces is obsolete and immoral."

"We do not insist on this point," Sejm Council member V. Chepaytis remarked. "This is simply an incorrect translation from Lithuanian into Russian. What was meant was the immorality of many phenomena in the Army, primarily the non-regulation relations."

Begging Chepaytis' pardon, but he is trying to be too clever. Coming from him of all people—a famous translator of a good one-half of Lithuanian literature into the Russian language, by his own admission—this argument sounds, to put it mildly, unconvincing. And the subsequent propositions indicate that this is no mistake, no slip of the tongue.

Judge for yourselves: "...obsolete and immoral. Consequently, the objective is to revive the traditions of Lithuanian military units and institutions to train a national officers corps. The term of mandatory military service must be reduced. The movement aims to ensure that young inhabitants of Lithuania perform their military service in Lithuania." It is also suggested that labor service be introduced for young people who, because of their beliefs, cannot serve in the Army, and also that military training in schools and VUZ's be curtailed or abolished completely.

Nobody doubts today that restructuring is needed in the Armed Forces as much as in other spheres of our life. I could say without any fear of exaggeration that all Soviet people are closely following the processes of cleansing the Army and the Navy of the legacy of stagnation. They sharply criticize military cadres for their sluggishness and submit suggestions for accelerating the restructuring and cleansing processes in the Armed Forces. It is perfectly logical that "Sajudis," being a prestigious public movement, should not stand aside.

But to decry as immoral service to protect the peaceful labor of one's people—service defined by the USSR Constitution as the honorable duty of Soviet citizens? To imagine that certain "beliefs" could absolve people of their duty to stand up with weapons in their hands and protect their mothers and fathers, their lesser and greater motherland?

Let us think about this: Who is primarily influenced by the "Sajudis" appeals? Obviously, the young people. A graphic impression of their response to these appeals can, I think, be obtained from a letter published by the republic newspaper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA and signed "members of the clubs of internationalist soldiers from Kaunas, Panevezhis, Alitus, Kapsukas, Kretinga, and Rokishkis": "We perceive our involvement in the Afghan events not as the performance of an international duty but as yet another sacrifice made by Lithuania's population to the Stalinist monster. In view of the fact that most of us either are Lithuanians or consider Lithuania our motherland and we have gone through the entire hell of service in the USSR Armed Forces and the war in Afghanistan, we advocate that young people of draft age in the republic should perform their military service in national military formations...."

Of course, everyone is entitled to his own opinion, including opinions on the international mission which has been and still is being performed by our soldiers in Afghanistan. But here is a small detail: Although the words "members of the clubs" gave the impression of numerical strength, that same newspaper later reported that the letter had been signed by just two leaders of the Kaunas club. Far be it from me to imagine that someone from the "Sajudis" leadership had been behind the letter writers. It is, however, impossible not to notice a certain similarity between the movement's program propositions and the contents of the letter which, incidentally, was correctly described in the response by internationalist soldiers from the Vilnius garrison as an expression of "national egoism." And the response was signed not ponderously by "members of clubs" but by 14 specifically named individuals expressing the opinion of 102 soldiers.

There is cause for serious objection to the attempts by some movement activists to take advantage of the inadequate information available to the population by starting rumors and provoking unhealthy emotions. One of the printed "Sajudis" publications carries a list of Lithuanian servicemen, allegedly victims of non-regulation relations, and calls on anyone who has any information at all to add to this list. There is talk of numbers of "victims" running to three and even four figures. Where do these numbers come from?

Speaking on republic television a few days ago, Major General V. Sein, first deputy chief of the Baltic Military District Political Directorate, cited official data. Twelve Lithuanians died in the Armed Forces this year (eight of them were drafted from Lithuania). We value every single human life, and there should be no deaths at all. But even so the number is not as high as some hotheads "imagine." Furthermore, as Gen Sein declared with utmost responsibility, not a single one of the 12 was the victim of cruelty by commanders or fellow-servicemen, as some people try to assert. For example, one soldier who had become addicted to alcohol prior to his military service had drunk antifreeze, while another one had grossly violated traffic safety rules....

We do not conceal the problem of non-regulation relations, Gen Sein stressed; we are taking energetic measures. Thanks to these measures, the number of incidents and crimes resulting from non-regulation relations is declining in the district.

Many people, when demanding that Lithuanians be posted to serve only in Lithuania, are unwilling to even consider the fact that the breeding ground for unhealthy mutual relations in the Army is largely brought in from outside. And yet this is a real fact. Specific figures were cited during that same television program. For example, just the last draft from Lithuania produced numerous young people who had been tried in the past. One in three had been brought up without one or both parents, and many were addicted to alcoholic drink and even to drugs. Life confirms that they themselves find it more difficult to adapt to the strict Army order, and often "trip up" others. Therefore, should the cleansing work

not begin with improving the state of relations at schools and rural vocational and technical schools, in the family and among young people? Alas, the "Sajudis" materials prefer to keep silent

On taking an unbiased look, one can see how shaky is the "Sajudis" prescription for struggle against non-regulation relations by posting Lithuanian young people to serve exclusively in units deployed on the republic's territory.

"I can see what brought about the inclusion of this point in the 'Sajudis' program," according to Hero of the Soviet Union G. Ushpolis, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Republican Council of War and Labor Veterans. He only expressed the opinion of many parents and their anguish, especially after what happened to Internal Troops Private A. Sakalauskas, who was the subject of the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA article "An Incident in the Special Car." They feel that all "bullying" would disappear if their sons were to serve closer to home and if they were to be surrounded only by Lithuanians. If this were true, we would probably have no cases of cruelty among young people in school or college collectives. And yet children there are virtually under their parents' wings....

Another question also arises: Who will serve in other parts of the Soviet Union if the principle of serving where you live is universally applied? The end of the 20th century is almost upon us, and nowadays it is impossible to protect yourself, as in the Middle Ages, by sealing your borders. The security of each and every one of us, including Lithuania's residents, is ensured in Chukotka, in the Pamir Mountains, and on the open ocean. Is this not the common concern of all USSR peoples? When you give this some serious thought, the attractive-sounding thesis which wins the sympathy of many people for "Sajudis" proves to be nothing but national egoism.

And what about the suggestion of "reviving the traditions of Lithuanian military units and institutions to train a national officers corps?" "It is not quite clear what traditions are meant here," was the justified remark in this context by a group of 16th Lithuanian Division veterans in an article published by the newspaper SOVETSKAYA LITVA. "Those who served in the Lithuanian bourgeois army know perfectly well that most of those traditions were borrowed from tsarist Russia's army and later on from the German Army."

I would also cite the opinion of someone who is well known in the republic—Major General P. Petronis, retired:

"What traditions of Lithuanian military units can they be talking about? Surely not the bourgeois ones? After all, our 16th Lithuanian Division was the only one in existence during the Great Patriotic War. But it was formed on an international basis. Its fighting personnel comprised people of all nationalities who had left the republic's territory when it was occupied. In my view, the formation of subunits and units manned by Lithuanians alone (or by members of the indigenous population of other republics, for that matter) can only provide grounds for outbursts of unhealthy sentiment."

Who would benefit from this? Only those, I think, who would like to apply the brakes to renewal in our country. Therefore, would it not be better to get down to building jointly, without fanning any passions, bridges between all healthy forces in society which sincerely yearn for restructuring and the renewal of socialism, regardless of people's nationality, regardless of whether they are civilian or military?

I would be sinning against the truth if I were to attribute the existing difficulties in the dialogue between the military and the civilian population to "Sajudis" alone. I had a lengthy conversation on this topic in the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee with V. Gerzhonas, chief of the Administrative Organs Department.

My interlocutor cited an example from his own practice. A communications subunit was due to perform some work on a neighboring kolkhoz's land. The chairman was resolutely opposed, perceiving this work as a threat to the environment. In order to resolve the conflict, the subunit's commander appealed to the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee.

Why is it, V. Gerzhonas reflected, that this commander could not have had a man-to-man talk with the kolkhoz members, to explain that this work was dictated by necessity rather than being his own whim or a product of the military leadership's nasty nature? Surely people would have understood?

Mutual relations between the military and the civilian population must be more open, my interlocutor went on to develop his idea. People ought to be invited to base compounds and warships to see for themselves the daily life and routine of soldiers, thus ruling out any grounds for conjecture.

And how about international education? There are few commanders who would not say proudly when speaking of their subordinate collective: We have representatives of 15, 20, and even more nationalities serving with us. This is all very well, but what do those Kazakhs, Uzbeks, or Moldavians actually know about the republic on whose territory they are to spend 2 whole years? Anything they might know is in general and overall terms. And yet, when someone is transferred to the reserve, he should know everything: How do Lithuanians live and what do they eat, what songs do they sing, and what is remarkable about their history....

Personally speaking, I did not find these deliberations a matter of abstract theorizing. As a matter of fact, attempts are already being made to build firm bridges between the military and the public in the Baltic Military District. Colonel General M. Popkov, member of the Military Council and chief of the Ground Forces Political Directorate, recently met correspondents from the local newspapers and television. Representatives of the press were given an opportunity to tour a base compound and to talk at length with officers and men. A group of generals, Lithuanians by nationality, answered viewers' questions within the framework of the weekly "Government Studio" program on republican television.

Thus, the dialogue is already under way. It is necessary for leaders and competent persons to participate in it. But nobody should forget the potential of "people's diplomacy," which is clearly still lacking. "Sajudis," the military command, and the republic and Army party organizations could all have their say on the matter. Bridges of trust must be built for the sake of consolidation. But internationalism and loyalty to the socialist option constitute the only possibility, the indispensable condition of their durability.

Troops Reportedly Fail To Learn Reform 'Lessons'
PM2012125188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Dec 88 First Edition p 2

[Article by own correspondent Colonel V. Kostko under the "Party Conferences" rubric: "Organization Bolsters Strength"]

[Text] This Southern Group of Forces party conference was different from previous ones. It took place in a new atmosphere in which the political directorate had to report back to the delegates on its work in implementing the 27th CPSU Congress decisions and the 19th all-union party conference and party Central Committee plenum directives. The grass-roots levels asked the political organ to be forthright in its assessments.

This was carried out incompletely. The political directorate failed to fully meet the proper criteria in its report or to examine shortcomings in its activity self-critically; this also affected the content of delegate speeches, which did little to analyze the work of the political directorate, its departments, or specific officers.

Another feature was that the problems of restructuring party political work were examined from the standpoint of the initiatives put forward in M.S. Gorbachev's address to the UN General Assembly session—initiatives that have received a broad response in the world—and in light of the new emphasis in military building. This line was clearly discernible in the reports delivered by Lieutenant General R. Gorelov, member of the Military Council and chief of the group Political Directorate, and Colonel A. Galay, secretary of the Political Directorate Party Commission, and in the speeches made by Colonel General M. Burlakov, commander of the Southern Group of Forces, and comrade delegates A. Gusev, L. Chukin, I. Ploskonos, and others.

The conference was addressed by Army General A. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

How, in what areas and by what means, should a political organ operate if it is to ensure via command and political cadres and party organizations that priority is accorded to the qualitative parameters of combat readiness? What specifically has been done and what still remains to be done to ensure that glasnost and democratization become a tangible part of the lives of military collectives, that communists become more active in seeking to overcome manifestations of stagnation, and that new approaches are introduced more energetically in the campaign for a high standard of organization, discipline, and law and order? These and certain other questions underlay all the discussion.

There has been progress in restructuring the political directorate's work. Political directorate officers are increasingly abandoning desk-bound work and doing more work in primary party organizations to study the situation, help the grass-roots aktiv, and coordinate their own efforts on the basis of analysis.

The report, for example, devotes only one line to a targeted action such as the sociopolitical assessment of primary party organization secretaries. Whereas in the life of primary collectives the assessment has become an event that has in many places shaken the atmosphere of complacency, temporizing, and parasitism. On the other hand, experience worthy of attention has stood out more sharply in its beam.

Or the following: Composite groups of political directorate cadres are carrying out targeted work in laggard units and subunits; the firm line of enhancing the role of elected party organs is being pursued in carrying out cadre policy at local level.... One could continue enumerating the specific steps taken in restructuring which are giving a return right now.

At the same time, as the conference noted, a considerable number of regiments and battalions still only muster a "satisfactory" grade. As Army General A. Lizichev observed in his speech, the group Military Council, Political Directorate and staff have not realized their full potential here. Stress is still being laid on intermediary mobilizing mechanisms instead of creating through concerted efforts a properly combative mechanism of organization and control. This is today's number one task.

Involving the lower links, particularly the battalion and regimental link, in restructuring is another very important thrust. That is where the demands on communists regarding combat training organization have been downgraded. Competition has yet to receive an invigorating

new boost. People continue to be taken away from classes and combat training plans are breached. Without the elimination of these shortcomings it is impossible to enhance the qualitative parameters of combat readiness. Moreover, such omissions seriously affect personnel morale and discipline.

And figures giving food for thought were again cited. According to the results of the final check, 36 percent of the officers in the directorate of N Unit received an "unsatisfactory" grade in weapons training and 42 percent got that grade for driving. And people quite reasonably said: Surely you cannot be serious about achieving a qualitative new level until the solution of this problem is taken in hand. No matter what reforms are carried out in the upper echelons of the military leadership, they will not have the required impact if there is no radical restructuring at local level—in the formation, the regiment, the battalion, and the company. There is very broad scope for efforts to be applied here. And the primary party organizations must have the final say in it.

Third, as the conference observed, the three lessons of the 27th party congress—the lesson of truth, the lesson of practical action, and the lesson of developing activeness and awareness on the part of the masses—have been blunted. Actual practice shows that while the first lesson has been learned to some extent, glasnost has still not reached the level which the party expects of us.

Restructuring and intensification of effort are still poorly reflected. This is particularly perceptible in organizational work. The group's troop training, discipline, and social, cultural, and consumer conditions suffer from this. All these omissions generally derive from bad organization, poor performance, and unsatisfactory monitoring.

On the subject of monitoring, we have many checks and inspectors today. But little practical benefit has been derived thereby to date. People cannot abide fuss and incompetent interference in their work. Ill-prepared checks quite often disorganize the work of regimental and battalion officers, and frequent flying visits by inspectors deprive them of independent thought and deed.

Practice confirms that the third lesson of the congress has been learned particularly badly. This concerns the development of activeness and awareness on the part of cadres and all servicemen. This directive demands greater contact with the personnel and well-considered answers to questions that worry people. It stands to reason that what is needed here are in-depth knowledge of party policy, convinced belief in its rightness, and a sound civic stance. Every communist must be so equipped, and all forms of political and party training must be geared to that end. Without it the party aktiv will be unable to overcome the barrier of passivity displayed by some officers or to encourage NCO's and enlisted men to "go over the top" and do battle against bullying and other negative phenomena.

The need to improve the personal example set by every communist and communist leader, in particular, was keenly raised at the conference. There are units, for instance, which show an increase in gross breaches of discipline. What kind of role for communists can one speak of here? Party-mindedness must show a real improvement in the way things are.

Today, speakers remarked, some forms of party work are in a state of crisis. Old approaches and the absolutization of certain desk-bound methods employed in an attempt to solve acute problems (conferences, sessions, and so forth) have resulted in some political and party workers' preparing "measures" rather than giving people job training and assessing problems, rather than the people who are tackling them. Those accustomed to tackling all problems by the sole method of issuing commands and applying pressure and who accommodate themselves to the powers that be while ignoring the interests of the men and the common cause must be brought into line. Stress must be placed on people who are creative, principled, and independent rather than those who are lacking in initiative and merely dutiful.

The conference discussed problems concerned with restructuring the party leadership of the Komsomol. A didactic tone and overadministration are still alive and well here. Stress was placed on the need to put political trust in young people and give them more independence and to take care to inculcate responsibility and a high standard of interethnic relations. Internal potential and links with labor collectives, scientific establishments, and public organizations in Hungary and with servicemen of the fraternal Hungarian People's Army are not being fully used to this end.

International education has and always will be an inalienable part of political education work, Major General of Aviation A. Gusev stressed in his speech. And he cited the following: On the day of the conference, military aviators had transferred more than R20,000 to the victims' aid fund in response to the disaster that has befallen the people of Armenia. Everything possible must be done to ensure that military service provides young people with a true schooling in internationalism.

The main point, the conference stessed, is that new organizational momentum is imparted to the whole restructuring mechanism. Lenin's dictum that organization bolsters strength must be borne in mind.

B. Stukalin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Hungary, took part in the conference's work.